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A LETTER

TO THE

DUKE OF GRAFTON.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

K Fitzroy (A H) Duke of

A LETTER

TO THE

DUKE OF GRAFTON,

WITH NOTES.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED

A COMPLETE EXCULPATION

OF

M. DE LA FAYETTE

FROM THE CHARGES INDECENTLY URGED AGAINST HIM BY

Mr. BURKE,

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

On the 17th March, 1794.

LONDON:

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BRITISH MUSEUM

A LETTER

TO THE

DUKE OF GRAFTON.

London, March 20, 1794.

IT is matter of ſurpriſe, my Lord, to many, and of offence to all, that your Grace ſhould again provoke the ſuſpended indignation of your country, and renounce that obſcurity to which the univerſal and well-founded contempt of the world had conſigned you. To recur to paſt events, and recall the pitiful meaſures of an Adminiſtration, marked by folly, turpitude, and cowardice, in which the kingdom was diſhonoured abroad, and oppreſſed at home, would be wreſting from the hiſtorian the painful, but indiſpenſable obligation of recording the foul catalogue, not of crimes dignified by ſucceſs and juſtified by neceſſity, but of innumerable miſchiefs bequeathed to your ſucceſſors, the ſad effects of which an interval of twenty years has not been able to efface.

It is not the melancholy detail of a life nearly conſumed in the wretched purſuits of every thing that is mean and diſreputable.—It is not your public or private hiſtory that is offered to your notice, but a ſtrong and well merited remonſtrance againſt proceedings, which mark the guilt and natural meanneſs of a character, known only to be reprobated, and which excites ſcorn or deriſion wherever it is mentioned. —It is an examination, my Lord, of your pretenſions to that patriotiſm and reſpect, which your Grace has lately claimed in your legiſlative capacity; and with whatever ill-humour this remonſtrance may be received, with whatever contempt you may affect to treat its ſubſtance or its language, the truths it contains, and the events to which it alludes, will require the full exertion of your philoſophy to bear with fortitude, and the whole ſtock of family effrontery to recollect without bluſhing.

Surely, my Lord, Junius, who ſeems to have underſtood your character, and to have acquired a tolerable knowledge of human nature, muſt have counted too much on his diſcernment, when he ſuppoſed it poſſible for a man to be reclaimed, on whom precept and example never had any influence, but when they pointed to that pre-eminence from which good men turn with anger and averſion.

What

What a misfortune it is, that your Grace has not availed yourſelf of the prediction of your adverſary, and enabled the prophet to become the hiſtorian of your reformation!—The opportunity is loſt; and, notwithſtanding your preſent efforts to recover it, the reproach of having read Junius as the Biſhops read the Old Teſtament, cannot be avoided. *They* would verify the prophecies of the Jews, without being warned by their fate, or benefited by the admonitions they received.—We know that the Author who has been quoted is not a favourite with your Grace; but ſomething is due to his generoſity, when he aſſerts, that "*there is "hardly a period at which the moſt irregular cha- "racter may not be redeemed.*"—Your character, my Lord, offers an exception to a rule, the application of which, as far as it relates to yourſelf, may be denied, without any injury to your reputation, or offence to your feelings. The paſſage, however, to which we allude has not been forgotten.—Your Grace, it ſeems, has held it in faithful remembrance; and, alarmed at the proſpect of internal commotions, you would willingly make your peace before the day of retribution arrives;—but the deception is too groſs to miſlead our judgment;—a ſucceſſion of impoſtures too impudent to be forgotten, and too calamitous to be forgiven, have put the people

on their guard; and they know from experience, that it is not every man who bellows for liberty that is an enemy to deſpotiſm. Ever fertile in expedients, you ſeem anxious to provide againſt this difficulty, by eſpouſing the cauſe of benevolence; ſo that what ſhould be denied on the ſcore of patriotiſm might be amply made up to you on that of humanity. This, in the language of the turf, was no bad hedge; and if it did not ſucceed as you wiſhed, we may venture to aſſert, that it was not owing to any delicacy on the part of your Grace.

It is really not meant, my Lord, to queſtion with acrimony, or too much nicety, your claim to any one good quality of the mind or heart, to which any tolerable pretenſions can be advanced; and do not attribute it to malevolence, when we expreſs our ſurprize, that the only two inſtances in which you have condeſcended to appeal to our judgment, ſhould be preciſely thoſe on which the world has long ſince decided, in a manner it may not be prudent to repeat, and certainly not very conſonant with your late declarations in Parliament.

In referring to paſt times, we find more than ſufficient to queſtion the purity of your motives for the part you have taken; nor is the ground which you have choſen an argument either of your truth or diſcretion. The trade and manu-

factures

factures of this country will always ſuffer interruption and diminution at the commencement of every war, and this interruption will neceſſarily produce inconvenience and diſtreſs to thoſe who are immediately concerned in either; but your Grace might have learnt from the ſame ſource from whence you derived your information, a conſolatory aſſurance, that the interruption and diſtreſs which you deplore, are merely temporary, and that, recovered from the ſudden check which commerce always receives on the commencement of hoſtilities, it ſoon reſumes its former vigour; but the context would not have anſwered your purpoſe; it would have ſhewn, that a nation reduced almoſt to bankruptcy, at the cloſe of an iniquitous, and certainly an ill-conducted war, could recover herſelf by her own exertions;—it would have held out hope and conſolation to a people ſmarting under temporary difficulties, and whoſe ill humour it is attempted to provoke into acts of violence and ſedition. How comes it, my Lord, that with every inducement to ſupport Government which can ariſe from a ſenſe of honour and of prudence, you ſhould have declared againſt it?—Surely, your Grace might have held out other proſpects than ruin and deſpondency; while authorized by the indiſputable evidence of official documents, you might have taught your

tenants

tenants and your neighbours to look forward to better days.—But this again would not have ſuited your purpoſe;—neither would it have correſponded with a temper naturally diſpoſed to abridge the miſerable portion of human felicity, which unhappily falls within its power to controul.

In a work lately publiſhed, and which is meant to correct wilful miſrepreſentation, as well as to inſtruct the ignorant, your Grace will find a full refutation of all your prognoſtics.

To a vigorous and well-informed mind, the Author * adds great accuracy and preciſion in argument; and in the late edition of his Eſtimate of the Comparative ſtrength of Great Britain, your Grace will find, that the value of cargoes exported at the end of the year 1782, from England only, amounted to 12,375,750l. and that at the end of 1792, they had encreaſed to 23,679,316l.—The ſhipping cleared outwards at the former period was 761,362 tons;—at the latter, it amounted to 1,561,154 And if the export trade of this country almoſt doubled itſelf in the courſe of ten years; if the country, depreſſed as ſhe was in a ſtruggle with the three great maritime Powers of Europe, and a civil war of conſiderable extent, recovered herſelf in ſo ſhort a period, what right has you Grace to

* Mr. Chalmers.

ſuppoſe

ſuppoſe that the ſame advantages may not ariſe from the ſame exertions, and the nation arrive at a degree of ſplendor in the year 1802, proportionate to that which ſhe was found in 1792, compared to that of 1782?

Be aſſured, my Lord, that if you ſeriouſly lament the injury our trade receives from the difficulties of the moment, the book recommended to your peruſal will afford you infinite conſolation; and as Norfolk and Suffolk appear to have their Jaſper Wilſons, as well as Liverpool, it will be an act of humanity to thoſe wrong-headed gentlemen, and of juſtice to your Sovereign, to order an hundred copies of this ineſtimable performance to be diſtributed, for the information of thoſe who prefer truth to falſehood, and on whoſe affections their country, its laws and Government have not loſt their hold.

But perhaps your Grace is yet to learn, that it is malicious to repreſent as perpetual, thoſe calamities which are in their very nature of ſhort duration. If the diſtreſſes are of the extent you deſcribe; if famine and deſpondency prevail in diſtant provinces, it is wonderful that the diſaſtrous ſtate of our manufacturers has not been made public through channels leſs apocryphal, and better entitled to credit and reſpect.—For you, my Lord, to come forward, circumſtanced as you are, and with all the miſchiefs entailed

entailed on us by your pernicious councils, is the height of indecency—it is worſe—it is an affront to the nation, and a libel on its Government.

For you, my Lord, to claim our confidence, after having ſo groſsly abuſed it, and to pretend an attachment to thoſe intereſts, which, on a variety of occaſions, you have ſacrificed to your ſpleen and convenience, are not atonements for paſt wrongs, but attempts at freſh inſults, which, conſidering the temper of the times, it will be imprudent to repeat, leſt they ſhould remind the people of their obligations to others as well as to your Grace, and ſtimulate them to an irregular diſcharge of what it is your intereſt they ſhould bury in oblivion.

We will ſpare you the peruſal of names which, on this occaſion, have precedency to that of Fitzroy, as well as thoſe which, with much leſs pretenſions to general hatred, have not been able to remove the ſuſpicions excited by an abuſe of the confidence repoſed in them.

We do not allude to thoſe, who, poſſeſſing the minds of lacqueys have not ſufficient dignity to preſerve them from infamous purſuits, nor the requiſite talents to direct them to good ones.—But to men who, in their oppoſition to Government, have nothing in view but to engroſs the patronage, and to ſhare the emoluments of office

fice among a beggarly train of couſins and dependents; and who, without abilities to execute, or character to dignify the ſtations they ſolicit, have the arrogance to conſider the wealth and induſtry of the nation as their inheritance. The attempts, direct and indirect, which were made on the conſtitutional rights of the people, from the commencement of the preſent reign down to the ſad period of the American conteſt, afforded ample ſcope to men of enterprize to come forward, ſome few, with fair and honeſt deſigns, who really meant to ſerve their country, and others who acted without principle or union;—both theſe deſcriptions of men aſſumed one common language;——both oppoſed the meaſures of the Crown, and contended for that ſupport and that confidence which was to enſure them ſucceſs;—that confidence was chearfully granted, and you Grace is no ſtranger to the extent to which it has been abuſed.—Hence the diſtruſt that prevails, and the neceſſity of that circumſpection which can alone preſerve us from ſimilar frauds in future.—If we are grown cautious and ſuſpicious, my Lord, it is becauſe we have been deceived; and it will ſurely be acknowledged, that we live to little purpoſe indeed, if we do not profit by experience.

We have been taught to eſtimate the moral rectitude of men, and the ſincerity of their pro-

feſſions, by the fidelity with which they diſcharge their engagements; and with this rule to direct us (the only guide whom we can truſt, and the only one to whom we can refer) would it not argue inſanity, or imbecility, if we were to give your Grace credit for ſentiments to which the uniform tenor of a life far advanced on its journey, preſents a full and complete contradiction?—Believe me, my Lord, that patriotiſm will neither afford you a ſafe nor an honourable retreat. Our credulity has been too often impoſed upon, to allow you to hope any comfortable ſhelter in that quarter; nor ſhould we have ſuſpected your Grace capable of ſo flagrant a deſertion of your former principles, as to ſeek a refuge ſo contrary to your eſtabliſhed habits, if the revolution which has taken place in men's minds had not awakened your fears for your perſonal ſafety, and ſuggeſted a poſſibility of avoiding the well-founded reſentment of the people, by the pitiful expedient of pretending to ſupport their intereſts!—The effort, I own, is not without precedent; and the experiment, in this awful moment, when bad men of *contrary* deſcriptions have much to *fear* and much to *hope*, was certainly worth trying; but what hope of ſucceſs, my Lord, could *you* poſſibly entertain, while your ſtrong and triumphant claim to that regular and ſyſtematic conduct, ſtands unimpeached,

unimpeached, and unimpaired, "*which renders* "*your attachment infamy, and leaves ruin and dif-* "*grace behind it?*"

So far, however, from ſuſpecting your Grace of any ſerious intention to give the lie to the uniform tenor of your life; we perceive in your mode of coming forward, a more than common ſolicitude, to preſerve that conſiſtency of conduct, which ſeparates you as effectually from your fellow citizens, as if you were of a diſtinct ſpecies; and from whatever motive you may have acted, we are equally indebted to you for fortifying us in our natural diſtruſt of your profeſſions, and putting us on our guard againſt any future miſchiefs you may intend us. But even admitting the purity of your intentions, where is the party that would act with you? Where is the individual, my Lord, that will truſt you? Where is the man, who, with any portion of reputation left, and anxious to preſerve the remainder, would hazard it by aſſociating it with that of yours? To come forward in your declining days, and brave the public opinion, is effrontery, not courage. It reſembles the deſperate efforts of the ruined gameſter, who ſtakes in deſpair his laſt guinea, and truſts to the hazard of the dye for a favourable iſſue.

Have a care, my Lord, the game you propoſe to play is deeper than you ſuſpect. The people

are not uninformed of the foul and polluted ſource from whence you derive your rank and income. They are not to be told, that with one or two exceptions, your pedigree can claim more infamy, and leſs antiquity, than that of any other peer in Parliament, and, ſurely under ſuch circumſtances, and under ſuch an accumulation of hereditary and acquired odium, it ill becomes you to remind us of the impudent violation of the laws, by which your anceſtor was advanced to honour and independence.

Be adviſed, my Lord, and do not add to the ill humour that prevails, leſt it ſhould extend to an enquiry, that may terminate in depriving you of what (by an unwarrantable and ſcandalous abuſe of power) has been ſettled on your family, and force you to obſerve that economy from neceſſity, which you have latterly practiſed by choice.

Would your Grace wiſh to have your pretenſions to the title you inherit, and to the income you poſſeſs, inveſtigated by the wiſer maxims* of the preſent day? Would you wiſh it

* The excitement to enterpriſe and induſtry in all nations, will ever be in proportion to the degree of ſecurity, with which property can be enjoyed and tranſmitted; and it is owing to this ſecurity, which is derived from our laws, that commerce, agriculture, and manufactures, have been carried on

it to be revealed to the nation, and to the world, that one of the probable cauſes of your averſion to the war, is the diminution it may eventually occaſion

on, and improved, to a much greater extent in this country than in any other, while the laws themſelves have acquired ſtability and reſpect, from the wiſdom in which they are founded, and the fidelity with which they are executed. I have judged this explanation neceſſary, leſt it ſhould be inferred, that I am infected with the licentiouſneſs of the times, and would inveſtigate title deeds, and level all diſtinctions, upon the ſame principle that the French have done.

I have no ſuch deſign.—On the contrary, I have ever reprobated their conduct on this, and many other occaſions, as abſurd, impolitic, and iniquitous.

But I make a diſtinction between the fruits of honeſt induſtry; between reward beſtowed on individuals, for great and meritorious ſervices rendered to the State, and delapidations of the public revenue, for the purpoſe of providing for the ſpurious iſſue of princes. I make a diſtinction between titles conferred on men who have deſerved well of their country, and thoſe which have been the recompence of adultery or incontinence. In the firſt inſtance, the Sovereign diſtributes wiſely and honeſtly thoſe honors, which the nation has entruſted to his diſpoſal. In the ſecond, he abuſes the confidence repoſed in him, and inſults public morals, by giving ſplendor and eclat to proſtitution.—Charles the Second, in granting any portion of the public revenue to his illegitimate iſſue, was guilty of a breach of truſt to the nation, and the Parliament that ſanctioned the grant was an accomplice in the fraud. The wiſer maxims of the preſent day, forbid ſo ſcandalous a deviation from the line of duty preſcribed to the Crown. They ordain, that for all public diſtinction

there

occaſion in that part of your income, which, (in recompence to profligate libertiniſm) has been ſaddled on the Cuſtoms? Or do you think that its being generally known to ariſe from a fraudulent appropriation of the public revenue, (for in honeſt conſcience, my Lord, what elſe can it be called) will render it more ſecure, or obtain affection and reſpect, from the million whom you have by turns inſulted, and careſſed?

It is idle to ſuppoſe, that with the perfect knowledge which we have of your character and your principles, with the recollection of the miſchiefs you have entailed on your country, and the odium annexed to your name, you can ever obtain, even a momentary popularity, for your profeſſions of patriotiſm. Nor is it poſſible, my Lord, that you can ever riſe into notice or eſteem, under any change of fortune, (however deplorable) that can poſſibly befal us. To claim our confidence, after the melancholy experience we have had of your incapacity and

there ſhould be ſome public merit; that no member of ſociety ſhould be raiſed above the reſt without an *equivalent* being given for the ſuperiority; and as the principles of right and Civil Government, appear to be better underſtood, and better practiſed in this century, than they were in the laſt, it is fair to conclude, that men become juſt in proportion as they become enlightened.

inſincerity; to come forward at this period of your life, with an affected anxiety for the proſperity of the empire; with a diſſembled concern for its peace and proſperity, exceeds all that hypocriſy has hitherto attempted; all that arrogance has ever dared to aſſume; it puts even impudence to the bluſh, and warns us with the voice of Stentor, to beware of COUNTERFEITS! Be aſſured, my Lord, that it is as indecent in your Grace, to expect our confidence, as it would be criminal and abſurd in us to beſtow it. Is it not an inſult to our underſtanding, that you, of all men in his Majeſty's dominions, ſhould preſume to come forward, under the maſque of patriotiſm, to embarraſs the Executive Government?—Are you aware, my Lord, of the conſequences of ſuch a conduct at a period like the preſent, when the unreſerved ſupport of every man in the three kingdoms ſhould be fully and cheerfully given to the Crown?—When the whole Empire is called upon to reſent unprovoked aggreſſion, the object of which is to tear not only the diadem from the head of your Sovereign, but the ſhuttle from the weaver, the anvil from the ſmith, and the plough from the huſbandman?

Is your Grace yet to learn, that the war is of an extent unexampled in the annals of the world; that it aims no leſs to wreſt from the

labourer

labourer and mechanic the well-earned fruits of their honeſt induſtry, than to extinguiſh the power and annihilate the commerce of your country? Are you to be informed, after the woeful proofs we have had of the wild and execrable principles on which the French commenced this war, and have reſolved to purſue it, that it is not only the dignity of the Britiſh Empire we are defending, but our acres and our perſons. That it is a conteſt between diſſolute idleneſs and virtuous induſtry, as well as between nation and nation, and that the firſt has ſworn to exterminate the ſecond, or periſh in the attempt?—Is it poſſible that your Grace can be a ſtranger to the only conditions on which the French will liſten to peace?—Are you to be told, that they have reſolved not to treat with any people who acknowledge a King or Nobility?—And have you the indecency, as well as meanneſs, to abet an execrable banditti in ſo flagrant an attack on the ſovereignty and independence of your country?

It has been the inſolent boaſt of even the moſt temperate Frenchmen, that "*Great Bri-*
"*tain would ſoon become a province of France;*"
and the decree of the Convention which indirectly preſcribes to us the republican form of Government, ſeems to have been grafted on this impudent prognoſtic.—Good God! Great

Britain

Britain a province to France!——Periſh the thought, and with it thoſe who would even connive at an humiliation no leſs injurious to the honour of their country, than it would prove fatal to her proſperity. The French have declared, "*that they will not treat with us while "Monarchy exiſts in England.*"—What is this but dictating the law, and uſurping a power, which our pride, no leſs than our intereſts, calls upon us to repel? Would your Grace, better informed on the ſubject, venture to recommend ſuch ignominious conditions to your country?—Would you ſubmit to purchaſe peace, deſirable as it is, on terms ſo diſhonourable? Would you dare, as the price of that peace, recommend Parliament to dethrone the Sovereign *, to whom you are bound by the ſacred obligations of an oath, and whom it is your duty, as it is that of every individual in his dominions, to ſupport?—Is your allegiance, my Lord, of ſuch ſlight and flimſy texture, that it will break on

* If there is any one part of our invaluable Conſtitution to which I feel a partiality, it is to the Houſe of Commons; but democratic as I am, and as every Engliſhman ought to be, I would rather that the Monarchy, at this time, was ſtrengthened than enfeebled.—I would rather that the Crown ſhould acquire power than loſe it, from a full conviction that whatever it loſes the Commons will loſe in equal proportion, and that if the *former* ſhould be annihilated, the LATTER will not long ſurvive it.

the ſlighteſt touch? Or is it as flexible as that of the late Duke of Orleans, eaſy to ſtretch, and ready to accommodate itſelf either to the reaſonable demands of your legitimate Prince, or to the wild and ſanguinary projects of the Wat Tylers and Jack Cades of the day? If it is ſupple, we know to what cauſe it is to be attributed; but though we are diſpoſed to pardon conſtitutional timidity, we are not diſpoſed to excuſe that hereditary compound of pride, meanneſs, and fraud, which, varying with the occaſion, would inſult us, cringe to us, and impoſe on us!—Your Grace miſtakes the Engliſh character, and over-rates your dexterity very conſiderably indeed, when you imagine we are to be deceived into an opinion either of your talents or diſpoſition to ſerve us. It is not, be aſſured, my Lord, in the aſſumed character of a patriot that you appear to advantage; and it is a ſorry compliment to our diſcernment, and and a much worſe to our pride, to ſuppoſe we ſtand in need of your Grace, or of any other Peer, to eſpouſe our cauſe, even if we had cauſe of complaint againſt the confidential ſervants of the Crown.—Are we for ever to be inſulted with ſuch officious and impertinent interference?—Are we for ever deſtined to reprobate the evil, and deplore the calamity, of perpetually looking up to *great names* for protection and redreſs,

while

while we have the power to confer the one, and to adminiſter the other?—Is there no reſource left for the collected wiſdom and ſpirit of the country, than to enliſt under the banners of one or other of the different factions, which, ſpeculating in politics, or religion, as either may happen to ſuit their purpoſe, traffic with the public credulity, and bartering vain and empty profeſſions of patriotiſm, in exchange for offices of truſt and emolument, revel in the plunder of their country, and ſolicit our confidence only to abuſe it?

My Lord, be prudent, and take advice; it is not the worſe for being anonymous. Acquainted as we are, with the texture and complexion of your principles, we muſt arrive at the loweſt ſtate of degradation, before we can poſſibly deſcend to accept of aſſiſtance or advice from the man who has injured and inſulted us.

If this ſhould appear an enigma to your Grace, you will find the ſolution in your own breaſt.

The world has found it in your conduct.

If the ſeaſon of deluſion was not paſt, our experience would be a bar to your hopes, which, even the fertile reſources of a mind like yours, would not be able to deſtroy. Beſides, we have been too often duped by profeſſions of patriotiſm, to truſt to the promiſes of even leſs excep-

tionable characters: And your Grace will do well to remember, that with every poſſible hereditary claim to the averſion and contempt of the Britiſh nation, it has an account of a perſonal nature to ſettle with you, in which your deſertion of the late Earl of Chatham, and your wanton, not to ſay audacious violation of the Conſtitution, in the caſe of the Middleſex Election, will certainly not be forgotten. Is it not ſingular, my Lord, that the ſame petulance, the ſame paſſion for raſh and idle enterpriſe which diſtinguiſhed your youth, ſhould mark your deſcent to the grave? And, is it not extraordinary, that you ſhould never take part in our public councils, without expoſing the ſecurity of Government, or the honour of the nation? But it is perfectly in character, that the man who began by betraying his Sovereign, ſhould finiſh by inſulting him; in the former inſtance, you would have made your Royal Maſter the accomplice of your guilt; in the latter, it is the people whom you would ſeduce into a participation of your infamy, and render the inſtruments of their own deſtruction. In the firſt inſtance, it was the King whom you would have ſet at variance with his ſubjects.

In the ſecond, it is the ſubject whom you would arm againſt the prince, but better inſtructed in our duties, we are as little diſpoſed

to

to borrow our loyalty from your Grace, as the King, we truſt, is to reign by the maxims of the family from whom you are deſcended.

Happily, my Lord, the reciprocal obligations between the Throne and the people: the principle on which theſe obligations are founded, and the ſentiment by which they are converted into affections are too well underſtood, and too generally acknowledged, to be injured by any arguments that your Grace can poſſibly advance. But, tho' your efforts have proved unſucceſsful, the attempt was not leſs atrocious, and it would be difficult to account for a conduct no leſs weak than criminal, if we did not know from melancholy experience, the unhappy bias in your mind to pervert and miſapply your talents and your time, and to act in every ſituation of public or of private life, in direct oppoſition to the beſt eſtabliſhed, and moſt approved maxims, for our conduct in both. Under the extraordinary circumſtances of the preſent times, when every foul and iniquitous artifice is employed to bring monarchy into contempt that ingenuity can deviſe, or profligacy avow; when with a dark and malignant deſign to ſubvert all our eſtabliſhments, an inſidious attack is made on the Throne, and Royalty repreſented to be at once uſeleſs, expenſive, and diſgraceful; it becomes the immediate duty, and, I truſt, it

will

will be the pride of every individual in the Britiſh Empire to ſupport the Sovereign in the conſtitutional exerciſe of his Prerogative, and enable him to reſiſt ſucceſsfully and decidedly, every attempt that may be made to diminiſh his authority, or leſſen the reſpect due to the important and elevated rank which he holds in ſociety.

Such is the ſentiment that animates, with very few exceptions, all ranks and deſcriptions of people in this country.—Such the line of conduct, my Lord, they have adopted, and mean to purſue, not ſo much from their fate, at this awful, this eventful moment, being involved in that of their Sovereign, as from motives of perſonal regard, and a wiſh, perhaps, to atone for thoſe opinions entertained to his diſadvantage, when your Grace, high in the confidence of your Royal Maſter, ſtood, like Iago, between the people and the object of their hopes, inſpiring both with diſtruſt of each other's intentions.—My Lord, we have not yet forgotten, nor are we diſpoſed to pardon, the infamy of leaving the metropolis of the Britiſh Empire at the mercy of a lawleſs rabble, and preferring the diſreputable amuſements of Newmarket to the faithful diſcharge of your duty as firſt Miniſter. We ſtill remember your mean and cowardly deſertion of your Sovereign in the moment of danger,

ger, when his perſon and his family were expoſed to the fury and licentiouſneſs of a miſguided rabble.—When the profligacy of your morals, contraſted with the unaffected piety of his Majeſty, brought the ſincerity of the latter into queſtion, and the faithful diſcharge of the duties of religion and morality into diſrepute.

Theſe were no ſlight and common offences; they tended to influence the public opinion in the moſt ſerious and important concerns of life, and to give to the ſincere and ſolemn practice of devotion the appearance of hypocriſy.

It was alſo at this period, my Lord, that the people were taught to annex the idea of liberty with the name of Wilkes, and, by a logical deduction worthy of their capacities, to aſſociate the idea of tyranny with that of a King.—We do not owe it to any exertions of your Grace, that this diſtinction was not eſtabliſhed in the minds of men, and carried to the ſame exceſs, and attended with the ſame terrible effects as in France.—Whenever ſuch an opinion is adopted, and becomes general in this country, woe to the Monarchy and to all the ſumptuous appendages of Royalty!—It is the clear evidence of this very obvious truth that renders your recent conduct in Parliament as inexplicable as your former councils were pernicious, and ſomething more than an apology is due for having countenanced

a meaſure

a meaſure, whoſe iniquity is not leſs conſpicuous than its folly, and which you knew in your conſcience at the time to have been abſolutely impracticable—Not from any conviction that Miniſters were determined to carry on the war, or that Parliament was reſolved to ſupport them in the vigorous proſecution of a conteſt which they could not have avoided, but from the abſolute impoſſibility, of France being able to put an end to hoſtilities.—Her own ſafety, or at leaſt the ſafety of thoſe who have uſurped the dominion of that country, requires a ſtill farther and moſt enormous expence of blood *.—It is an acknowledged truth, my Lord, that France could not accept of peace, were the combined powers diſpoſed to offer it.

Indeed, there are ſtrong reaſons for ſuſpecting, that this fact was even acknowledged by thoſe who acted in direct oppoſition to their conviction, and whoſe motive for coming for-

* It was one of the favourite dogmas of the Abbé Sieyes, from the very commencement of the Revolution, and which his diſciples have ſince maintained, with a ſucceſs proportioned to their execrable zeal, "that the population "of France muſt be diminiſhed at leaſt TWO MILLIONS." The mode of effecting that diminution was alſo pointed out, and the aſſaſinations and proſcriptions which have enſued, ſufficiently prove that the advice of the prieſt has not been neglected.

ward

ward with motion for peace, was leſs to ſerve the cauſe of humanity than to force themſelves into power.

The violated rights of men, and the intereſts and proſperity of the kingdom, will always afford abundant matter for declamation; they are the ready means to captivate the multitude, who judging of other men's ſincerity by their own, are too apt to give credit for the good faith of profeſſions whoſe object is deluſion. It has ever been the practice of thoſe who have aſpired to a ſhare in his Majeſty's councils, to have recourſe to this more than impudent, this diſhonourable expedient, and (which is a ſtrong reflection at once on our folly and credulity;) they have generally ſucceeded.—Men who are influenced by conſiderations of perſonal intereſt, and mean nothing more by ſerving their country than to ſerve themſelves, will not be very delicate in their choice of means; and whether the Throne is taken by ſtorm, or whether it is compelled to capitulate, their purpoſe is equally anſwered, and the nation is equally inſulted.—— The extent to which theſe arts have been practiſed in a neighbouring country, ought to ſerve as a leſſon, not only to well-meaning men of warm tempers, the purity of whoſe motives will ſometimes operate as a check on their enthuſiaſm, but to men of inordinate vanity and ambition,

bition, who call forth the diſſolute and indigent, to enable them to accompliſh their criminal deſigns.—Is it already become neceſſary, my Lord, with examples ſo numerous, ſo recent, and ſo ſtrong, before us, to remind your Grace, that every man in France of both deſcriptions has fallen a victim to his guilt or folly.—Have we not beheld, under the different impreſſions of ſorrow and of joy, of aſtoniſhment, anger, pity, and indignation, the various orders of Nobility, from Princes of the Blood down to the Nobleſſe of the Robe and Finance *, ſwept off the ſtage in regular ſucceſſion, as they came forward to take the lead, and direct that maſs which they imagined could be moulded and faſhioned to their purpoſe like wax? What are become of the Montmorencys, the Noailles, Liancourts, d'Aiguillons, and Lameths?——They are in exile—poor and obſcure, and with ſcarce the means of ſubſiſtence!——What is become of Neckar, that buſy quack in politics, literature, and financc—his own bubble, as well as of others, and who was compelled to fly from the unprovoked fury of the very mob that idolized him?—A fugitive, remembered only to be deſpiſed.—Where is the vain, the indiſcreet, and

* Lawyers, Bankers, and Farmers-General.

miſguided

miſguided La Fayette * ?—He is in a dungeon—his fame, ſplendour, and authority, extinguiſhed for ever!—Where are the Birons, the Broglios,

* Although I am perfectly convinced that Parliament could not, with propriety, take cognizance of the arreſt and detention of M. de la Fayette; yet no doubt exiſts in my mind that the former was an atrocious act of tyranny, without example or excuſe, and that the latter is as infamous and oppreſſive as it is impolitic and unjuſt. Feeling this conviction, and impreſſed with theſe ſentiments, I honour the generoſity of the man who made an ineffectual effort to reſcue an unfortunate victim from diſgraceful and unmerited confinement; however a daſtardly Nobleſſe, without dignity or virtue, may ſlander the man they would not dare to face; with whatever rancour a lazy, profligate and lying prieſthood, ignorant of their country and of the age they live in, may retail ſuch ſlanders; with whatever violence the Convention may purſue the memory of M. de la Fayette, I aver it as a fact, that Mr. Burke is the laſt man upon earth who ſhould join in the clamour of this ſenſeleſs, worthleſs rabble, againſt an unfortunate individual, who ſuffers for the ſame cauſe for which Hamden bled——THE CAUSE OF LIBERTY!

Mr. Burke had dared to pronounce M. de la Fayette guilty, and with all the vehemence of licentious eloquence, to brand him as a traitor:—But in what conſiſts his guilt? Who did he betray—What friends, what party, has he perfidiouſly deſerted—In what inſtance has he proved himſelf an apoſtate? Surely there is nothing criminal in endeavouring to cruſh deſpotiſm—Neither was it treaſonable to endeavour to break the fetters which held his degraded countrymen in bondage, and reſtore them to the rank of manhood in ſociety—

lios, Cuſtines, and Baillys?—They are under ground, my Lord:—their headleſs trunks ſtill bleeding, bear rueful teſtimony of the danger of ſeducing

ciety—If he failed in the attempt, if leſs verſed in the doctrines of revolution than his vindictive adverſary, he fell in the attempt, it was his misfortune not his crime! but allowing him to have been criminal, does the loſs of fortune, of liberty, and of all the endearing comforts of life, weigh nothing in the oppoſite ſcale?—Will his being immured in a dungeon, excluded from the light of Heaven, torn from his friends, and uninformed of the ſad deſtiny of his virtuous, hapleſs family, ſurrounded by aſſaſſins, and pining in grief and ſolitude, count for nothing?—Is it no atonement for his vices or his errors, that he is expoſed to ſuffer ſtill greater, and, if poſſible, more excruciating torments from the unrelenting malice of the unprincipled and dignified jailor who holds him in bondage?—Can the *mild* and *beneficent* temper of Mr. Burke diſcover no expiation for paſt offences under the preſſure of ſuch agonizing diſtreſs?—What purity, what rectitude of mind; what tenderneſs of heart muſt that man poſſeſs, and what ideas of criminal juriſprudence muſt he have formed, who, in his pretended zeal for national juſtice, in his extreme ardour for ſevere and exemplary puniſhment, can count ſuch rigorous, ſuch heavy amercements for nothing?—To what tenſion are the faculties of that man capable, who refining on cruelty, denies that theſe enumerated penalties entitle the hapleſs victim to a mitigation of his ſufferings?

Of what texture muſt his heart be, who, unprovoked by any perſonal wrong, or uninfluenced by conſiderations of public utility, could wantonly add, by invective and falſehoods, to the afflictions of a man, whoſe exiſtence, in the very prime of life, is mouldering to ruin, within a loathſome, damp, and dreary dungeon?

How

ſeducing from the ſober paths of induſtry a ſenſeleſs multitude, incapable of directing itſelf even for it own advantage. But were there even no danger

How painful muſt it have been for a Britiſh Houſe of Commons to liſten to the foul and malevolent harangues of a man, who having ſpanielled through life at the heels of nobility, is now become a pandar to authority, an inſtrument of oppreſſion, a vehicle of ſlander to an itinerant diſſolute prieſthood, a kind of jackall to a beggarly crew of French Biſhops and Nobles, running about with them from houſe to houſe, and from door to door, with all the fury of a Bedlamite, as if his mind was as diſtempered as his heart appears callous and inſenſible to the claims of benevolence.—We are no ſtrangers to the Gentleman's partiality for the Church of Rome, and can trace in the intemperance of his zeal for its vile and contemptible clergy, an anxiety to return to the track from which intereſt and convenience may poſſibly have ſeduced him in early life. Nor are we uninformed of the accommodating ſpirit of a religion that ſtill traffics in indulgences, and which has neither forgotten the craft, nor relinquiſhed the authority it poſſeſſed in the 14th century.

We know that it occaſionally admits the moſt faithful of its flock to wander from the fold, with abſolution in advance, leſt an accident ſhould happen before the pious vagrant, or rather the licenſed apoſtate, can get back.—Whether Mr. Burke is in this predicament; whether he is out upon bail on a promiſe to return before the laſt day of term, or whether he is come back, and obtained a *billet de confeſſion* (a certificate) from the Biſhop of St. Pol de Léon, it is needleſs to enquire; all I pretend to aſſert is, that from the whole of his conduct, it is evident the principles of the Jeſuits have ſurvived the abolition of their order.

For

danger, is there not cruelty in calling from honeſt, uſeful labour, ſo many valuable citizens, and converting them into as many unprincipled vagabonds?

For this man to come forward with a proud boaſt of his loyalty—with a new-fangled zeal for the family on the throne, while he reprobates the men, and condemns the means that led to their advancement, is as impudent as it is contrary to his former conduct and declarations in Parliament.

Of what complexion, and of what nature is that loyalty, which condemns M. de la Fayette, and approves of Mr. Waſhington? In what conſiſts the difference in the conduct and ſituation of theſe Gentlemen at the different epochs of 1774 and 1789? The latter was called by the unanimous voice of his countrymen, to take the command of a mob that had not acquired the honourable diſtinction of an army, and whoſe object was to reſiſt the execution of laws deemed vexatious, and acknowledged to be contrary to the known conſtitutional rights of Engliſhmen.—The former was alſo invited by a decided majority of his countrymen to reſcue from the French King a power which had been frequently abuſed, and which, by being undefined, was incompatible with the principles on which ALL GOVERNMENTS ought to be eſtabliſhed.—The views and appointments of both theſe Generals were preciſely the ſame; and hoſtile as Mr. Burke has lately become to reform and to revolutions, we know that he once countenanced inſurrection, and gloried in the rebellion that ſevered his country from America.—We know that he wept at the victories of his country, and at the defeats of her enemies.—With what decency then can he give his curſes to La Fayette and his benediction to Waſhington? With what claim to credit or reſpect can he abuſe men who are, according to his former doctrines, only culpable becauſe they were unfortunate?

Is

gabonds? Can your Grace reflect on the ſad cataſtrophe of the amiable, the virtuous Clermont de Tonnere, and not ſhed a tear of pity on his unhallowed

Is it Mr. Burke who triumphed at the victories, and wept at the defeats of Waſhington, that arraigns the loyalty of M. de la Fayette, and condemns him for erecting the ſtandard of revolt?

Is it Mr. Burke who carried on a correſpondence with Dr. Franklin at Paris, during the whole period of our diſgraceful conteſt with America, and who ſupported with all the fervour of enthuſiaſm the rebellion, as it was called, that now finds the conduct of M. de la Fayette criminal?—Is the ſuſpicious evidence of men who deſerted their acres on the firſt alarm, and who abjectly ſigh for that tyranny which they alternately felt and exerciſed, to be received in preference to facts? And is it with ſuch beings that Mr. Burke, a Member of the Britiſh Parliament, deſcends to aſſociate, and partaking of their baſeneſs, would wreſt from an abſent and diſtreſſed individual, defenceleſs and forlorn, all that the ſavage ferocity of a vindictive tyrant has left him—man's laſt and deareſt refuge—HOPE!——Is it Mr. Burke that has joined a cowardly race of miſcreants to aſſaſſinate the character of a man whom the ſtouteſt of them would tremble to encounter, and ſhrink into nothing at the ſight of? Is it Mr. Burke that offers himſelf as a ſample of loyalty, and arrogates the right of preſcribing to us rules of allegiance?—Is it Mr. Burke, in whom this ſpring-tide of loyalty flows in ſuch profuſion, who, callous to every ſentiment of duty, of humanity, and of generoſity, inſulted fallen Majeſty in that awful and diſtreſſing moment of univerſal grief and deſpondency, when every face was marked with affliction and gloom? Is this the apoſtle of religion, who, when every heart

hallowed grave?—Can you open the enormous volume of modern martyrs, and not tremble for your own fate, in following even the example of

heart but his own was diſſolved in ſorrow, and every cheek bedewed with tears, pronouncing the illneſs of his Sovereign to be the well merited vengeance of Heaven *, rejoiced at a calamity which threatened his country with the greateſt of all misfortunes? Has this man the effrontery to prate publicly of duty and affection for Kings?

Is it Mr. Burke that eſpouſed the cauſe, and vindicated the honour of his deputy (Duval) who, aſhamed of a panegyrick he did not deſerve, put a period to his exiſtence, and gave the lie to the fulſome eulogium of his paraſite, that has the aſſurance to make a parade of his virtues, and to talk of ſubmiſſion to the laws, reverence for the magiſtrates, and loyalty to the Throne?—The Throne that he has vilified, and ridiculed!

The crow contents itſelf with carrion, and battens on the moor; but this man, a glutton and an epicure, flies at higher game, and ſets repletion at defiance; it is not the common, ordinary food of birds or beaſts of prey that ſuits him—his voracious and inſatiate appetite muſt gormandize on dainties: and Kings, Miniſters, Admirals, Generals, and Nabobs, have all fallen in their turn under the venomous gripe of his rude and ſavage claws.

The brutal Philippic of Mr. Burke againſt M. de le Fayette, on the 17th inſt. in the Houſe of Commons, does not require to be contraſted with the mildneſs, equity, and liberality of Mr. Pitt, to render its malignity more evident.—It has been the misfortune of the former Gentleman, not only to have courted and eſpouſed error through life, but to have

* Vide the Parliamentary Debates on the Regency.

of the moſt temperate and juſt among them? The firſt name that occurs, in contemplating the convulſed, and diſaſtrous ſtate of France, is that

have perſiſted in it with a degree of obſtinacy and acrimony, ill ſuited to the ſituation to which his talents have raiſed him, and to that reſpect which he owes to himſelf and to others.—It has alſo been his misfortune to have kept bad company, not from neceſſity but choice, and on occaſions where we are led to ſuſpect that his principles are as much to be blamed as his taſte. From the maxims he has lately advanced, and the virulence which marks his language wherever he fatigues debate, it is evident that the Gentleman has become the echo of a claſs of Frenchmen, who, though mendicants and exiles, are no leſs reprehenſible than the Jacobins, whom he anathematizes with more than eccleſiaſtical rancour.

I am as little diſpoſed to think favourably of the latter as Mr. Burke, but if I were called upon to decide between theſe two deſcriptions of people, I ſhould be much puzzled to know to which of them the preference ought to be given.—It is really hard to decide which is the more noxious animal of the two, the MONKEY or the TYGER—I certainly would take neither of them to my arms.—It is not very creditable to this Gentleman, that he ſhould become the mouth-piece of a deſpicable herd of fugitives, to the full as void of principle as thoſe whom he reprobates; and it may not be amiſs to remind him, that it is not by ſuch language and ſuch doctrines, as thoſe to which he has accuſtomed himſelf of late, that the Engliſh Government is to be ſupported.—Its beſt friends; men who have been uniformly and paſſionately attached to the Conſtitution in all the guſts and tempeſts of faction, are not to be BULLIED into loyalty by the impudent menaces of an individual not very reſpectable or conſiſtent,

that of Orleans :—He had recourſe to the dangerous expedient of inviting the ſons and daughters of vice and wretchedneſs from their caves

and who has run up and down the notes of the political gamut, in all its various keys, until even diſcord ſickened at the ſound! Neither is it eaſy to ſeduce them to confide in the aſſertions of a man who receives his creed implicitly from the vagabond herd of eccleſiaſtical mountebanks, who are ſuffered to eat the bread of idleneſs through the miſtaken bounty of this country, and "*who encumber the land they* "*ought to fertilize.*"

I am vexed at the forward, not to ſay impudent zeal of Mr. Burke—a zeal too recent to be ſincere, and too officious to ſerve the cauſe to which he pretends ſuch violent attachment.—I am perſuaded it would be of much uſe to Government, if this Gentleman could be prevented from ſcribbling or prating.—His imagination, run wild, requires to be tempered by diſcretion; and he appears, by his late unmanly abuſe of a diſtreſſed and fallen object, to be as deficient in humanity as he is in judgment.

Magnificent ſentences from ſuch men may flatter the prejudices of thoſe who reſemble them, and tickle the ears of thoſe who prefer ſound to ſenſe, and declamation to truth; but the Government that looks up to ſuch beings for ſupport, miſerably deceives itſelf, and manifeſts a wiſh, rather to ſuſtain itſelf by fraud or violence than by equity and reaſon. We know that the Britiſh Government diſdains ſuch aid; that it holds in abhorrence ſuch means; it is therefore to undeceive thoſe who, uninformed of the purity of the preſent Adminiſtration, may be led to conſider Mr. Burke as the interpreter of their ſentiments, and attribute the nonſenſe, malignancy, and reveries of an intemperate, and ſometimes

inſane

caves and lurking places; and that the paſſions of theſe miſ-ſhapen knaves, naturally violent when let looſe from reſtraint, might be inflamed to

inſane individual, to an Adminiſtration to whom this country has the moſt ſerious obligations.—The country, well apprized of the danger with which the Conſtitution has been menaced, is firmly reſolved to ſupport Government with all its force; and with ſuch a ſupport, Miniſters can have nothing to hope, and ſurely they have nothing to fear, from the applauſe or cenſure of a man who has done little elſe than vibrate between extravagance of every kind, and who has proved himſelf to be, by the language he holds, and the principles he avows, much better qualified for a Satrap in Perſia, than the citizen of a free country.

A torrent of invective, as illiberal as it was copious and unprovoked, was not ſufficient to ſatisfy the ſpleen and ſavage animoſity of this Gentleman.—Not content with departing from the decorum of parliamentary debate, and wandering into a looſe, deſultory diſcourſe, irrelative to the queſtion, and certainly not very humane, he advanced charges unſupported by facts *, and threw out inſinuations to which the uniform conduct of M. de la Fayette, preſents a direct and complete refutation.—As a proof of the injuſtice offered to this forlorn victim of inexorable tyranny, whoſe lamentable condition affords matter of indecent merriment to the deſpicable Ariſtocracy of his own country, and of malignant triumph to Mr. Burke and his no leſs deſpicable aſſociates in this. I have given extracts from two letters, dated Paris, the 23d February, 1791, written by Mr. Miles, and addreſſed, one of them to Sir Edward Newenham, in Dublin, and the other to Henry James Pye, Eſq. at Teſtwood Lodge. Hants.—It is with the permiſſion of theſe Gentlemen that

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* Vide the Exculpation of M. de la Fayette at the end.

to the higheſt pitch, and qualified for deeds of darkneſs, the preſs was called in to flatter their power, and to drive them furious. No magic could

they are publiſhed; and, as the writer of them is preparing his intereſting correſpondence, during his reſidence on the continent, for the preſs, there is no doubt but the character of an unfortunate individual will ſoon be vindicated by an authority much more reſpectable for its veracity than thoſe of his bitter and vindictive accuſer.

The extracts are as follow; and the candid are left to judge whether M. de la Fayette acted with that perfidy and hoſtility towards the Royal Family with which Mr. Burke has reproached him, not with the candour, or temperance of a Gentleman, but with the violence of a ruffian!

To Sir EDWARD NEWENHAM.

Paris, 23 Feb. 1791.

" *An immenſe crowd, preceded by the poiſſards, went laſt night to the Luxemburgh, in conſequence of a report that Monſieur was preparing to depart.—A deputation only was admitted; theſe he aſſured that,* " he never had a thought to ſeparate himſelf " from his country and his brother; and he gave his word " of honour that he would never forſake the King."—— *Upon which one of the women demanded,* " Mais ſi le Roi s'en " va?" *To which he anſwered—*" Qui eſt ce qui eſt ſi in- " digne de me faire une pareille queſtion?" *The deputation then inſiſted on ſeeing his wife.—He ſaid ſhe was at her toilette. No matter, they replied—they muſt and would ſee her, and finally Madame appeared.—A well dreſſed man came afterwards to the Tuilleries, and deſired to ſee Monſ. de la Fayette.—He was told that he was with the King.—He perſiſted on ſeeing him, and required he ſhould be ſent for.—La Fayette came, attended by two officers of the Municipality.—The man inſiſted on ſpeaking to him alone*

and

could afterwards charm these Calibans to rest; and yet, my Lord, incredible as it will appear to future ages, we have our Trinculos and Stephanos,

and in private.—He said that he had no secrets from these gentlemen, whose duty it was to be present; upon which this person informed your friend that "Monsieur was to leave Paris that "night, escorted by 1500 cavaliers, who were at the Lux- "emburgh and its environs."—*The answer of La Fayette does him honour.*—"Je vous donne ma parole d'honneur que si "Monsieur pars, je l'arreterai & puisque les nouvelles que "vous venez de me donner sont très importantes, je vous "arrête jusque ce que vous ayiez verifie le fait."

I really trembled for La Fayette when he pronounced the order for seizing this man; I was at his elbow, and expected to see the informer changed into an assassin—

The danger to which La Fayette is exposed is incredible, and as he flies with alacrity on the least alarm to the protection of his imprisoned Sovereign, and as his vigilance is every where given in aid of a police enervated, disjointed, and broken, he has incurred the suspicion of being attached to the Court, and inimical to the people. He has great coolness as well as great firmness of mind, and great intrepidity, but his resources are not equal to his courage; and as he is pursued with equal fury by those who wish to supplant him in his command, and by those who are resolved to exterminate the Royal Family, his very loyalty will accomplish his destruction. Believe me, my dear Newenham, that he will either fall by some ignoble hand, or be driven into exile; and this prediction of mine I have often repeated to him."

To HENRY JAMES PYE, *Esq.*

Paris, 23 Feb. 1791.

"*Unpleasant reports are in circulation, and which, if they obtain credit, must produce much mischief and bloodshed. It is said*

that

phanos, impatient to pay court to the monſter, and poſſeſs the Iſle.

The Duke of Orleans, acting from the double motives of pique, and luſt of power, felt neither

that the King and Dauphin, with the Queen, were to follow Monſieur, whom I informed you in my laſt was preparing to get away privately.—It is alſo ſaid that 37,000 aſſaſſins, diſtributed in Paris, and armed with ſtilettos imported from Turin, ſome of which have been ſhewn to me, were to maſſacre the patriots in the metropolis, while the Emperor invaded France on the ſide of Brabant with a powerful army, and the Ariſtocracy roſe in the Provinces.—Here is a mine, my dear Sir, ſufficient to blow up the Thuilleries in an inſtant; in conſequence of which, the Luxemburgh, which is the reſidence of Monſieur, was inveſted by the mob before eight o'clock laſt night, and he was conducted in diſgraceful triumph to the Chateau of his hapleſs brother, followed and menaced by the rabble.—It was with extreme difficulty that the people were reſtrained from violence.

" Cannon were placed before the entrance of the Thuilleries; the matches were lighted, and the gunners had directions to fire on the firſt alarm.

" The mob becoming clamorous, inſiſted on extirpating every veſtige of Royalty, and but for the undaunted and decided conduct of La Fayette, would have aſcended to the apartments of the King and Queen, in which caſe I am convinced that neither of them would have beheld the " morrow's dawn."—*It was the firm manner in which La Fayette acted that impreſſed on the multitude, and obtained a reſpite for the lives of the King and Queen, whom you may be aſſured will certainly periſh in ſome of theſe tumults.—I was preſent at this diſtreſſing ſcene, and was aſtoniſhed to find the King more collected and leſs alarmed than the Mayor. I deſcended from the royal apartments, and mixing with the mob, perceived*

ther ſhame nor remorſe at aſſociating with men of the loweſt rank and moſt abandoned characters.—In the commencement of his political career,

ceived ſeveral faces among them whom I remember to have ſeen on better occaſions, and in better places.

" *My indignation provoked me to deliver my ſentiments to the miſguided populace with the ſame unreſerved freedom as I have tranſmitted them to you, for which my friends here tax me with indiſcretion*—mais c'etait plus fort que moi.—*I cannot bear that either inſult or oppreſſion ſhould be offered to others any more than to myſelf; and on theſe occaſions, rank and extravagant as the Quixotiſm may appear to you, I always feel diſpoſed to make a common cauſe with the wretched, and vindicate their rights.*"

Of what nature is the humanity of Mr. Burke, that mocked the agonizing pangs of his country in the hour of alarm for its beloved Sovereign, and that now weeps ſo abundantly over an outcaſt crew of mitred hypocrites, whoſe practical atheiſm has been infinitely more injurious to morals and religion, than all the wild and incoherent ſpeculations of Voltaire and Rouſſeau?

What are we to call this new-fangled zeal for Majeſty which has lately blazed forth with ſuch uncommon violence in Mr. Burke? What are thoſe new doctrines of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance which he has the effrontery to bellow in our ears, as the meaſure of our duty, and the criterion of our affections? Is it from this man that we are to learn our obligations to the King and to his Government? From the man whoſe whole life almoſt has been marked by a ſteady, uninterrupted, and ſometimes ferocious oppoſition to the Crown?

reer, it was Orleans, Mirabeau, Barnave, and Co. but as the rabble, invited by the profuſion of their Chief, accumulated and acquired force, they

Crown? From the man whoſe ſudden and extraordinary converſion was leſs a matter of ſurprize to the world, who knew him *little*, than to his aſſociates, who thought they knew him *well?*—Is it this man, who "*ſtiff in opinion, ever in the wrong*," that bends his proud knee to offended Majeſty, and whoſe mind, become pliant, yields to the authority it ſpurned? Is it Mr. Burke who has treated royalty like a very drab, that pretends to a purer loyalty than the reſt of the nation, and that would teach us what a Britiſh ſubject owes to a Britiſh Sovereign? Is it to his warehouſe that we are to refort in future, not for fair and rational allegiance, ſuch as the laws and Conſtitution preſcribe and authorize, but for that unqualified ſubmiſſion to undefined power which has been prohibited, decried, and reprobated as dangerous and infamous ever ſince the year 1688, and which this Jeſuit in politics, as well as in religion, would ſmuggle back into the country, and deal out to us in portions ſufficient to diſguſt and provoke revolt in the vereſt ſlave under the ancient Gabel laws in France?—Is it this camelion that receives its hue from the tranſitory influence of paſſing objects, that pretends to beſtow on others a permanent and never-fading complexion? Away with ſuch impertinence; and attached as we are to our Sovereign from gratitude and affection; bound as we are by duty and by intereſt to ſupport the laws and Conſtitution of our country, let us reject the inſolent mandates of this high prieſt—who arrogates to himſelf the right of dictating to us in matters of Government, and who pretends to be the only loyal ſubject within his Majeſty's dominions.—— Let us leave this ſovereign pontiff of a new deſcription to lament

they claimed a ſhare in the profitable buſineſs, of revolutions, and preſently engroſſed the whole trade to themſelves; they even found themſelves in a condition to eſtabliſh ſimilar factories in other countries, and had the addreſs to engage men of rank and fortune, but of little ſenſe, and leſs diſcretion, in the hazardous enterprize of overſetting States and Empires.—Before this final change took place, M. Orleans found himſelf compelled to turn out his old, and receive new partners.—The firm was afterwards changed to Orleans, Danton, Robeſpierre, Barrere, and Marat.—But the firſt name ſoon gave place to the latter; and as theſe have ſince periſhed, one by the guillotine, and the other by a poignard, the triumvirate that remains have continued for the moment to monopolize the entire trade.——How long they will be allowed to carry it on belongs to pro-

ment that he cannot introduce in this happy country, Baſtiles, Lettres de Cachet, and all the other diſgraceful implements of Deſpotiſm.

Let us leave him to conſole the wretched *congregation* of *barefooted Carmelites* whom he has aſſembled at Beconsfield, and whom he feeds with the vain hope of reſtoring to the land from which they have been deſervedly driven: It is time to leave him to his reflections, with this admonition, however, that if he treſpaſſes again on the good ſenſe of the nation, I will purſue him until he turns, like the enraged viper, on himſelf, and expires by his own poiſon.

phecy to foretell, and to time to reveal.—My buſineſs is merely to ſubmit theſe facts to your conſideration, and to enquire what right your grace has to expect better treatment than thoſe who have gone before you in the dangerous experiment of diſturbing the public mind, and oppoſing the meaſures of Government?—I have no doubt but the pennyleſs cobler in Piccadilly, who having no longer any boots or ſhews to vamp, has undertaken to new vamp the State, would have no objections to your name ſtanding firſt in the partnerſhip. But let the gentleman traffic on the credit of your name, and call for ſupplies from your pocket, and how long do you think your Grace will be allowed the diſtinction, or enjoy the *priſage on wines* *?*

Believe me, my Lord, it would ſoon be Hardy and Grafton, or rather, Hardy and Fitzroy, perhaps Palmer†, not only to remind you of your origin, but in hatred to the word King in any language; and thus degraded and bap-

* Part of his income. Vide the grant of Charles II.

† Charles the Second, forgetting that nobility without virtue is exalted infamy, created this woman Ducheſs of Cleveland; and according to the hiſtorian, ſhe was "*prodi-*
"*gal, rapacious, diſſolute, violent, and revengeful.*"
Hume's Hiſtory, vol. vii. page 392.

tized,

ſized, your Grace would be compelled to chaunt in uniſon with your companion—

" We'll new vamp the State,
" The Church we'll tranſlate,
" Old ſhoes are no more worth their mending."

Whether your Grace has a taſte or voice for ſinging, I know not, but I can eaſily believe that ſuch airs, and in ſuch company, would not vibrate ſweet muſic to your ear.—Under ſuch diſtreſſing circumſtances, humbled, ruined, and ſtung with remorſe, it is poſſible you might be provoked, but from a better motive, to follow the example of the Duke of Orleans, and demand, at ſome ſection or municipality, another name, in the poor and wretched hope that your former rank and ſplendor would be forgotten in the change.—What was the effect of a mean and abject ſervility in the moſt infamous of the Bourbons, would, I am willing to believe, be the reſult of pride in your Grace, to hide your ſhame; but contrition would then be too late. Giving your Grace, however, credit for the oſtenſible motives of your conduct, on what ground, permit us to enquire, of fair and reaſonable hope could you recommend his Majeſty to propoſe overtures of peace, without being previouſly aſſured that they would be accepted, or at leaſt attended to by the enemy?—Are you certain

that a ceſſation of hoſtilities would be a meaſure of policy, on the part of France, at this moment—or that it is even practicable?—Do you know for certain, my Lord, that it would be as deſirable an object to the French Convention, without any preparatory ſteps to reconcile men's minds to ſuch an event, as it unqueſtionably would be under certain conditions to this country? Are there no other difficulties in the way of peace, but thoſe which have been attributed with ſuch little decency to the paſſions and intereſts of a few individuals?—"*Would there be* "*no danger in France receiving ſuddenly into her* "*boſom an enormous population, diſtributed into* "*fifteen armies, and accuſtomed to every ſpecies* "*of diſſolute licentiouſneſs?*"—What, in the name of that humanity which you profeſs, would be the conduct and purſuits of a diſbanded multitude, permitted to run riot in the very center of that diſtracted country, in which the exiſting laws are too weak to afford protection to thoſe who actually inhabit it?

Theſe circumſtances ſhould have been well conſidered, before your Grace took ſhare in a debate, the reſult of which is ſo little likely to anſwer either the avowed or ſecret purpoſe of the man who propoſed and commenced it.—— I have hitherto addreſſed your Grace, in the firſt perſon plural; from a conviction, that in

delivering

delivering my ſentiments, I was delivering thoſe of my country; but as I ſhall have occaſion to refer to papers and to letters within my own knowledge, and ſome of which are in my poſſeſſion; as it will be neceſſary to quote private authorities, and which for very obvious reaſons, muſt remain anonymous; I ſhall hereafter ſpeak immediately from myſelf, and take my chance for my correſpondence and aſſertions obtaining that credit, which I know to be due to them.——I do not venture on raſh and ill-founded aſſertions—I ſpeak from authority, from clear and indiſputable teſtimony, from the evidence of men well qualified to pronounce, and certainly much better informed, my Lord, than either of us of the temper of their country, and of its diſpoſition and capacity for peace—Of men, who, convinced that wars engender and multiply crimes, are as anxious for peace as your Grace, and who would chearfully co-operate in terminating a conteſt, which only adds to the afflicting catalogue of human wretchedneſs.

My channels of information are to the full as authentic, and as reſpectable as thoſe of your Noble Colleague, without my having recourſe to the dangerous expedient of a clandeſtine correſpondence with the *enemies* of my country, or to the diſhonourable means of preſerving it, by commu-

communications which impeach the loyalty of the citizen.—It is on the credit of the authority to which I allude, that I inform your Grace, France is not in a ſituation even to liſten to overtures of peace, much leſs to propoſe them; and that no doubt of her deplorable condition ſhould remain, I ſubjoin the copy of a letter *, dated the 7th ultimo, which will prove the

* " Je penſe comme vous, que la France peut faire les " premières ouvertures ſans ſe degrader, parceque le punctilio diplomatique très convenables aux Miniſtres des Rois, " ne convient plus guère à une nation, dont la philoſophie " (quoiqu'on en diſe) a commencé & achevera la regenera- " tion, & parceque cette nation a develloppé une energie " ſans exemple dans les faſtes de l'hiſtoire—Mais je dois vous " faire part des difficultés que je prevois.

" Je connois votre philantrophie, & j'ai du regret que les " circonſtances m'otent tout eſpoir de voir de ſitôt, une fin " à la guerre—Ne penſez donc plus à preſent à la paix.

" Si c'eſt une paix partielle l'Angleterre n'y conſentiroit " pas; ſi c'eſt une paix generale, je doute ſi la France y con- " ſentiroit—Elle eſt devenue un camp, & les Français ſe ſont " faits tous ſoldats.

" Seroit-il donc prudent de rappeller bruſquement dans ſes " foyers cette maſſe enorme repartie en quinze armées? Ne " ſerait-il pas à craindre que cette rupture violente des gouts, " de la licence, &c. militaires, ne nous replongeât dans des " nouveaux troubles? et la politique ne conſeillerait elle pas " de conſerver un aliment etranger à l'inquiétude d'eſprit, & " à la ſurabondance d'activité qu'une guerre de cette nature " a dû neceſſairement devellopper? Je vous ai parlé dan

tou

the very little proſpect there is of putting an end to the complicated miſeries which deſolate Europe, and menace the world with a prolongation of a war, diſaſtrous beyond doubt to all the parties concerned, but much leſs ſo to this country than to the powers on the continent, and in which Miniſters, with every diſpoſition to terminate it that policy or humanity can ſuggeſt, muſt perſevere until France is in a ſituation, we will not ſay to propoſe peace, but to accept it, without the riſque of plunging herſelf into freſh, and greater difficulties, than thoſe under which ſhe at preſent labours.

The letter from which the annexed extract is taken, was written by one of the moſt intelligent, and beſt informed men in France. By the man, my Lord, who, whenever the ſeaſon of negotiation arrives, will moſt probably be charged with the pleaſing and important miſſion, to the Britiſh court. To an excellent underſtanding, he unites an integrity, that is incorruptible; and if the reſt of his countrymen, poſſeſſed his virtues, and his talents, France would have eſcaped the miſeries, to which ſhe has been a prey, ever ſince her weak and perfidious Monarch, preferred holding the ſceptre

" tout ceci, mon cher ami, à cœur ouvert, & je laiſſe à
" votre prudence, & à votre amitie, la determination de l'u-
" ſage que vous en pouvez faire."

by

by corruption, and ſecret intrigue, to the magnanimity of reſigning, or defending it like a man. The danger which my correſpondent apprehends would ariſe from the ſudden and abrupt diſſolution of the armies of the Republic, is far from being chimerical. The miſchiefs which he ſuppoſes would enſue, from the change of habits, paſſions, and military licenſe, to that decency, order, and ſubmiſſion, compatible with the peace of civil ſociety, are experienced to a certain degree in this country at the cloſe of every war. It is not in an inſtant, that the morals and manners of mankind are to be changed, and we have learnt from your Grace, that ſome diſpoſitions *can never* be corrected. If robberies and murders, are more frequent in England whenever her military eſtabliſhments are reduced; and riot and diſorder prevail until the diſbanded troops fall inſenſibly under the dominion of the magiſtrate; how much more has France to fear, from the licenſe and violence, of ſix hundred thouſand ruffians, let looſe in a country, where no other right is acknowledged, but the right of the ſtrongeſt, and in which the civil part of the community are not in a condition, to reſiſt any claims, which the military may urge, or to puniſh any inſults which an unbridled ſoldiery may offer? Under circumſtances no leſs imperious, than they are diſtreſſing,

diſtreſſing, it is evident, that France could not accept of peace were it offered to her; and, as the dilemma into which ſhe has precipitated herſelf cannot be a ſecret, either to your Grace, or to the Marquis of Lanſdown, we are authoriſed to queſtion the purity of your motives, for propoſing a meaſure impracticable in its execution, and, which, if it had been attempted, would ultimately have deprived this country of her allies, and Holland, perhaps, of her independence: For what ſecurity could poſſibly be given, and (judging of the former by the paſt) what reaſon have we to ſuppoſe, that the Auſtrian Netherlands, and the ſeven United Provinces, would not be over-run, the inſtant the Combined Powers laid down their arms?

With the certainty, almoſt, of ſuch an event taking place, whenever every check and reſtraint on France ſhall be removed, what would the Miniſter deſerve, who would council the King to a ſtep of ſuch imminent riſque; and what claim can thoſe have to the confidence of the nation, who would engage Parliament to addreſs the throne, for a purpoſe, which, if granted, would extend the evils, and prolong the calamities they affect to deplore? Shame upon a conduct, ſo ſcandalous and corrupt. It has not even the plea of ignorance to urge in excuſe.

Neither is it the haſty and intemperate deciſion of a benevolent mind, warm in its purſuits and attachments, and viewing peace in the abſtract as a ſuperlative good, paſſes over with the rapidity of thought, and the ardour of paſſion, all the various combination and relations, by which it becomes either a miſchief, or a bleſſing to ſociety.

I do not know, that there is any thing perverſe in my underſtanding, or imperfect in my conception of things. I am ſure there is nothing ſervile in my diſpoſition, and, that I am not of a temper, to ſupport the meaſures of any man, or ſet of men, without the fulleſt conviction of their juſtice and expediency. But, to talk of peace to a nation, which, if it was diſpoſed to hear it, is not in a condition to receive it, and dares not accept it, is the extreme of folly, or ſomething worſe, and can have no other object in view. but to impreſs the people in this country, with an idea, as pernicious, as it is ill founded; that the war is not only an aggreſſion on our part, but wantonly continued againſt men "*cordially diſpoſed to treat for peace, if the Bri-*
"*tiſh cabinet was not pledged to reſtore the ancient*
"*deſpotiſm in France*; as ſome pains," and an infinite degree of art have been employed, to render theſe opinions general, it may not be improper

to

to examine their relation with the fact, and leave thoſe whom it was intended to deceive, to draw their concluſion. It has been already ſtated, in a late publication,* that the war was unavoidable, and a perſon *(qui eſt pour beaucoup dans la revolution)* has had the candour to own, that it was an aggreſſion, not on the part of England, as Mr. Francis had the impertinence to aſſert in the Houſe of Commons, on the 6th inſtant; but on that of the Executive Council, whom it is acknowledged, "*could only have been withheld from a declaration of hoſtilities, by a poſitive aſſurance, that no interruption would be given by this country, to the proſecution of the war againſt the Emperor; for as to the Court of Berlin, the Convention, acquainted as it was, with its perfidy and venality; made no ſcruple to declare, that the King of Pruſſia, who had received the Dutch, Brabançons, and Liegeois, neither excited uneaſineſs nor alarm, as they could always in caſe of neceſſity, purchaſe the man who was ready to ſell himſelf to the higheſt bidder.*" It is not my buſineſs to enquire what degree of affinity this cenſure has to truth; I ſhall only obſerve, that the beſt anſwer which his Pruſſian Majeſty can give to a ca-

* Vide, "*the conduct of France towards Great Britain examined, with an Appendix and Notes, by Mr. Miles.*" Printed for G. Nicol, Pall-Mall.

lumny ſo atrocious, is a faithful diſcharge of his engagements with other powers. In return for this expected neutrality on the part of Great Britain, a neutrality no leſs diſhonourable in itſelf, than it would have been dangerous in its conſequences, a faint promiſe was given, not to attack the United Provinces, and that we might judge at once, of the truth and conſiſtency of the French Executive Council, the navigation of the Scheldt, which involved in it the ruin of Amſterdam, was declared to be free. The conventional army was alſo in poſſeſſion of Liege, Brabant, and Flanders, while a banditti, calling themſelves the States of Holland, were collecting a force on the Dutch frontiers, compoſed of the outcaſts of all nations, by whom Maeſtricht was to be ſummoned, and in caſe of refuſal, France, in the aſſumed character of an *Ally*, was to have been invited to reduce it.

The milder mode of ſtratagem, was, however preferred; a paſſage was requeſted in form, for the troops of the French Republic, and as a proof of the *pacific temper* with which the demand was made, and of the *good faith* with which the conditions would have been kept: Preparations were made for bombarding the town into a compliance, the inſtant permiſſion was denied.

Such

Such inſtances of an *amicable* diſpoſition, very frequently occurred, and my correſpondent has very candidly confeſſed, "*que les hoſtilités ſourdes et cachées contre L'Angleterre n'étaient pas moins actives et réelles qu'une provocation ouverte.*"

I will not remind your Grace of the efforts of the French Emiſſaries to excite inſurrections in the kingdom, nor of the ſeveral decrees of the National Convention, which, anticipating theſe inſurrections, offered ſuccour and fraternity to thoſe, who would erect the ſtandard of revolt, againſt monarchy and nobility.

Theſe facts are of ſuch general notoriety, and ſo fully eſtabliſhed, that it would be impertinent to repeat them. My object is merely to convince you, that, as the aggreſſion was not on the part of Great Britain, and as France in her preſent lamentable ſituation, and under the preſſure of multiplied embarraſſments, can neither offer nor accept of peace, the motion of Lord Lanſdowne was premature, and more likely to produce miſchief than good, by miſleading the public mind in both nations. Well diſpoſed, but half informed men in this country, would naturally ſuppoſe peace to be within the eaſy reach of miniſters, when a motion to that effect was made in Parliament by a peer, ſuppoſed to have the beſt intelligence of any man in Europe, and who has filled the higheſt department in

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the ſtate. The ſame error, but to a much greater extent, was no leſs likely to prevail in France, from the partizans of the noble Lord having endeavoured to promulgate an opinion in *that* country, that "*he poſſeſſes the entire confidence* "*of the people in this, and that on the queſtion* "*in favour of an immediate peace, his Lordſhip* "*and the bulk of the Engliſh nation, have but* "*one opinion.*" In order the more effectually to bring the Parliament and Miniſters into diſcredit in France, every expedient has been tried to degrade the one, and to excite a clamour againſt the other, with a view, that whenever the ſeaſon of negotiation arrives, the "*diſmiſſion of the latter ſhould be inſiſted upon as preliminary to all treaty.*"*

I will

* The private letters from this country, to certain people in Paris, dated laſt December, announced, that "*the Miniſter deferred meeting of Parliament, until he had ſecured a majority diſpoſed to comply with whatever was preſcribed to them.*" An attempt has alſo been made to ſeduce the French into an engagement, "*not to treat for peace with Mr. Pitt,*" as if the intereſts of a great nation were to be interrupted by an attention to *names*, inſtead of *things*. I felt ſome degree of mortification, in reading the letter which related theſe diſhonourable proceedings, and in publiſhing the extract, I indulge the hope, that in the courſe of circulation, it may poſſibly come round, to the party with whom it originated, and ſhame them out of a conduct, no leſs derogatory to the character of an Engliſhman, than it is pitiful and indecent. The letter which

I will not comment on ſuch unfair practices, but the pride of the nation is concerncd in vindicating the juſt prerogatives of the Britiſh crown,

which I received, is dated the 27th ult. and while it expoſes the unfair conduct of an oppoſition, drawn off, as it were, to the Lees, it proves that the ſad remnant of what was once reſpectable, enjoy as little credit in France, as in England; and that the National Convention knows preciſely to what extent theſe gentlemen are entitled to its eſteem and confidence.

" Ne vous trompez pas mon cher ami, nous reçevons de tems en tems des details aſſez exactes de l'Angleterre, et voici ce qu'on nous en a mandé il y a à peu près un mois." " *On a marché de prorogation en prorogation, car il faut plus que jamais que Mr. Pitt ſoit ſûr de ſon fait, avant de convoquer le Parlement; une complaiſante majorité va donc faire tout ce qu'on lui preſcrira. Nous ne ſommes pas fachés d'apprendre que des reproches ſe levent en France de toutes parts contre notre Miniſtère; nous voyons avec plaiſir que ſi l'on venu la paix l'idée ſeule de traiter avec Mr. Pit fera tout echouer, conſequemment le parti qui vous eſt devoué ſuccédera au Miniſtère.*"

" N'eſt-ce pas aſſez plaiſant que tandis que votre Parlement et votre Miniſtère nous traitent de regicides, de Carmagnoles, et de *ſans culottes*, l'autre parti nous temoigne de la conſideration et de l'amitié, mais grâce à nos malheurs, nous connaiſſons votre parti de l'oppoſition auſſi bien que votre Miniſtère, et nous avons à peu près autant de confiance pour l'un que pour l'autre."

Here is a diſcovery of foul play, which, conſidering the hazard with which it was attended, proves that the RISQUE was infinitely greater than the STAKE. That every effort, and every art which men, verſed in all the chicanery of political intrigue can deviſe, ſhould be employed to diſcredit Miniſters

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crown, and reſiſting every attempt that may be made by any foreign power, to dictate to an Engliſh ſovereign, to what perſons he ſhall confide the adminiſtration of his affairs.

As to the latter opinion, which has been propagated with ſo much induſtry, "*That it is the intention of the combined powers to reſtore the ancient Government in France,*" it cannot deſerve any notice, until there is ſufficient evidence of the fact,

in this country, in order to ſupplant them, may be eaſily imagined; but that faction ſhould attempt to raiſe a clamour againſt Mr. Pitt in France, with a view to indiſpoſe that country againſt having any communication with him, at the very moment that they were preſſing him to make offers, which they ſuſpected would be ſpurned from motives of perſonal hatred, is a melancholy inſtance of the deſpicable ſhifts, and unpardonable meanneſſes, to which men will deſcend to gratify their reſentment or ambition.

It is to be hoped, that the nation will attend to this fact, and be on its guard againſt ſimilar deceptions in future. If the miſchievous motions of Lord Lanſdowne had been adopted, and the French had declined treating with Mr. Pitt, as they were requeſted to do, his removal would have followed of courſe, and his adverſaries would have had the ſatisfaction of having jockied Miniſtry and Parliament moſt completely, *and in a* manner as ingenious, as it was profligate and unprecedented.

Happily the motions were rejected, and what is of no leſs importance at this moment, the efforts to precipitate the Convention into a reſolution, not to treat for peace with the preſent Miniſtry, have ſerved only to expoſe the guilt and duplicity of thoſe who had recourſe to them.

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and until ſuch a deſign is avowed or made evident, from corroborating circumſtances, it is unneceſſary to comment on the folly and iniquity, attributed to ſuch an intention.

It is unworthy of your underſtanding, or of mine, my Lord, to combat phantoms, and much more ſo to create them. I ſhall only obſerve, that the nation that undertakes to reſtore monarchy in France, as it was, previous to the Revolution in 1789, muſt have reſolved to play double or quits, and for engaging in an enterprize ſo extravagant, ſo full of peril, and certainly as infamous as it would be hazardous, deſerves to loſe the game.

The object of the preſent conteſt, as I underſtand it, is merely to reſtore order in a country, whoſe maxims have endangered the peace of other nations, and until this deſirable object is obtained, I do not ſee how we can, conſiſtently with our own internal ſafety, ſheath the ſword which we have been forced to draw in defence, not of a vain point of honour, but of our acres, of our fire ſides,—of our wives and of our children.—Whenever theſe can be aſſured to us,—Whenever the foul and ſanguinary project is relinquiſhed, of ſeducing a numerous and virtuous peaſantry to aſſaſſinate their landlords, and uſurp their property; whenever the wicked expedient is renounced, of compelling our manu-

facturers and husbandmen to abandon peaceful agriculture, and forsake wholesome reputable labour, for carnage, dissipation, and every species of military licence, and whenever the country can repose in confidence on the faith of the new Government in France, there is not a man, I am persuaded, either in or out of Parliament, that would not chearfully vote for closing the contest.

But circumstanced as we are, and contending, not to support the pride and pageantry of Kings, but for interests infinitely dearer to us than either, and without which existence, would be a curse, not a blessing. We must fight it out.—We have no alternative, and the combat must last, my Lord, while France continues iniquitous and insane, or until she is incapacitated for farther hostility. Until one of these events happen, we cannot, dare not, talk of peace. The French themselves avow, "*that such a measure is at present premature, by being incompatible with their internal safety*," and would it be less so with that of ours, my Lord?

The French see to the full as much danger in the return of peace, as your Grace can possibly apprehend from the continuation of the war; and under these circumstances, forced as we have been into the contest, and compelled to persevere in it, not only in self-defence, but from

from the inability of our enemies to conclude it. What remedy have we but in our ſtrength? What hope but in our exertions, and our fortitude?

Having premiſed thus much to your Grace, I will not diſſemble, that the offer of peace on ſuch conditions as the Miniſter could liſten to, and the nation receive in ſafety, would afford much conſolation to a mind not apt to deſpond. But really, my Lord, with all my rooted averſion to war, and with all my anxiety for that calm, ſo neceſſary to the ſafety and felicity of mankind; I do not ſee any immediate proſpect of ſo deſireable an event, but on the contrary, a ſucceſſion of obſtacles, ariſing from a ſucceſſion of blunders and of crimes, and which are likely to continue, until debility incapacitates both parties for further hoſtility, or until one of them falls in the conteſt. "*C'eſt une guerre à "mort, & dans un combat à mort il faut vaincre "ou mourir.*"

Such was the language of M. Le Brun *, and of ſome other members of the French Executive

* Le Brun, Secretary of State for foreign affairs. This man has ſince been dragged to the ſcaffold, and his dawn of exiſtence, contraſted with its meridian and ſetting, proves how very much human life is the ſport of contingencies; how it depends upon accident, and how very circumſcribed

tive Council, in November 1792, who, intoxicated with the victories of Dumourier, and as ignorant of our reſources, as they appeared to have been too confident in their own, prepared for hoſtilities in the full perſuaſion, that if they could not *bully* us, they could CRUSH us. Preſſed as we were, and expoſed to all that violence could offer, or chicane deviſe: in danger of being ultimately beggard, maſſacred, and what is worſe, diſhonoured, if we ſubmitted to the harſh and inſolent conditions which were exacted, and certain, at leaſt, of eſcaping the infamy of the laſt, if we reſiſted: your Grace muſt confeſs, that the alternative of war, was better than that of peace, even if it had been allowed us, but the precipitancy of the Convention, put the latter entirely out of the queſtion, and as we could not decline the combat, muſt we not abide by the conſequences? Surely, my Lord, you would not remind us of your affinity to James the Second,

are the views and capacities of mankind! This miſerable but unlamented victim, had been a common ſoldier; he afterwards obtained his diſcharge, and became an adventurer, but being of mean origin, and unprotected by a court ever ready to patronize crimes from which it derived an advantage, he was compelled to fly from his country. He returned to it after the revolution, with a legion of other proſcribed vagabonds; became Secretary of State, and was executed. Valoit-il la peine Monſeigneur d'être Miniſtre d'état pour perir le moment après ſur l'echafaud?

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by counſelling us to ſound a retreat before the battle commences? Your noble colleague, who has long been a trader in bad omens, diſcovers nothing but ruin in the conteſt, and pronounces the nation to be undone, if ſhe fires another gun in the quarrel.

He ſaid exactly the ſame thing of the American war, yet his country ſpurning the *death warrant* of his Lordſhip, ſeems to have acquired a new leaſe of ſtrong political life, and certainly enjoys better health than ever *.

With a view to frighten us into peace, the noble Marquis has aſſured us, that the laſt campaign was DISASTROUS! *Diſaſtrous*, my Lord! does conqueſt mean defeat, in the vocabulary of his Lordſhip, or have the herd of literary ſycophants, whom his miſtaken bounty feeds, formed a new dictionary, in which every word has a ſenſe, aſſigned to it contrary to its general and eſtabliſhed import? If not; on what ground can either your Grace, or his Lordſhip, call the laſt campaign DISASTROUS? Is the recovery of Holland from the dominion of France, a DISASTER? Can the repreſſing of her armies within her northern frontiers, breaking the ſpirit of thoſe armies, and reducing ſome of her frontier towns, be called DISASTROUS?——Are the final extinction of the French power, and

* Vide Chalmers' Eſtimate of the Comparative Strength of Great-Britain—Printed for Stockdale, Piccadilly.

the total deſtruction of all the French ſettlements in Aſia, with an arſenal conſumed, her navy crippled, and her commerce ruined, DISASTERS? If ſo, your Grace may add to this diſtreſſing catalogue of misfortunes, the entire expulſion of the French from the Newfoundland fiſhery, and the acquiſition of the moſt valuable part of St. Domingue* to the Britiſh empire.—Such are the fruits derived from our exertions in the laſt campaign, and will your Grace preſume to qualify as DISASTROUS, what evidently leads not only to the extenſion of the power and commerce of your country, but to her ſecurity, as well as proſperity?

It is not very candid to bewail as unfortunate, and to repreſent as calamitous in the extreme, what, if they had been acquired under his Lordſhip's adminiſtration, would have been trumpetted forth by ſcribblers of all ſizes, as the ſuggeſtions of wiſdom, and the heroic atchievements of valour. This conduct in his Lordſhip, betrays a partiality for his own judgment, and opinion of his own parts, which happily

* The annual exports from the French part of this Iſland, on an average for the laſt three years, previous to the Revolution, amounted to upwards of seven millions ſterling; all that wealth will now flow into this country, and what is of no leſs conſequence to its grandeur and opulence, it will open a market of conſiderable extent for every deſcription of Britiſh manufactures.

for the publicly intereſt, are not current in the nation, nor very likely to obtain any credit, beyond the confines of Berkley Square. That the conduct of the war ſhould be arraigned by thoſe who deny the neceſſity, or diſpute the expediency of it, is very natural. It is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they will avail themſelves of every opportunity, to depreciate a meaſure, which they condemn, and endeavour to prove its fallacy and abſurdity, by the means which are taken to enſure its ſucceſs. The matter of ſurpriſe is, that men qualified to give an opinion on a queſtion of ſuch moment, ſhould have a doubt as to the juſtice of reſiſting unprovoked aggreſſion, and the neceſſity of ſupporting the Miniſter with ZEAL and UNANIMITY, in repelling an injury, not of a partial or perſonal nature, but of vaſt and general extent, in which the comfort and ſecurity of the peaſant, is no leſs endangered than thoſe of the prince. It is the cottage, as well as the palace that is threatened; and in a cauſe ſo univerſal, which includes all deſcriptions, ranks, profeſſions, and ſexes, in which the property of every individual, with all his natural and acquired rights, are brought into hazard and menaced with ruin, it would argue the extreme of cowardice, not to defend them with an ardor proportioned to their value, and ſtill more atrocious would it be to relinquiſh them

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without a ſtruggle. That Miniſters may have erred in ſome particular inſtances as to the general policy which this country ought to obſerve towards the other powers of Europe, may be very poſſible, and it is equally poſſible that the equity and moderation of princes, may be to the full as hypothetical, as the rectitude of thoſe who oppoſe them, but the virtue of either or both, being equivocal, is no reaſon why the war into which country has been hurried by the madneſs and crimes of France, ſhould not be proſecuted with vigour, and ſupported with fortitude. It is not my inttention to palliate blunders, or to flatter royalty. The intereſts of ſociety would be betrayed, not ſupported by ſuch conceſſions, and the ſtake at iſſue is of more value in my eſtimation, than the favour of Miniſters, or the ſmiles of the Court. But on this occaſion no blame can be imputed to the one, no danger can ariſe from defending the other. The former have an arduous and difficult taſk to execute. Is it fair; Is it liberal; I will aſk if it is patriotic? Nay, my Lord, is it either decent or honeſt in your Grace, to force them, as it were from the great objects that occupy their attention; from the perilous duties in which they are engaged, to the unimportant conſiderations of propoſitions fallacious in the extreme, dangerous to diſcuſs, and which, if adopted,

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would be productive of much ſerious miſchief, not only to Government, but to every individual in the empire? It is not very eaſy to penetrate into the minds of men and diſcover the ſecret ſprings of action; nor is it altogether fair to interpret them at random. I know of no other method to judge of their purity or baſeneſs, than by that reputation which every man at a certain time of life has eſtabliſhed in the opinion of the world, or, by the perſonal intereſt which he may have in what he recommends to others, or undertakes to perform himſelf.

Try the motion of your noble colleague, my Lord, by this criterion, and truſt me there will be but one opinion on the ſubject throughout the empire!

He has propoſed peace in the pleaſing hope, no doubt of being called upon to make it, and not without the no leſs pleaſing hope perhaps of making as much by it as report ſays he did make by the laſt.——"*Bleſſed are the "peace makers, for they ſhall be called the chil-"dren of God.*"* But his Lordſhip's ambition is not of that deſcription:—He is more modeſt, and ſatisfied with reward upon earth, is willing to take his chance for the bleſſing hereafter with the reſt of mankind. That the ſitua-

* See Matthew, chap. v. verſe 9.

tion of Europe is calamitous and precarious cannot be diſputed; nor am I without very ſerious apprehenſions for the iſſue of this tremendous conflict; but the courage of mankind is never ſo well tried as by events; and States as well as individuals are often indebted to great and extraordinary occaſions for a knowledge of their force and reſources. It is the characteriſtic of timid minds to ſhrink from conteſt the moment it is offered—It is the curſe of bold ones to ruſh into hazard, and truſt to accident for a favourable iſſue; but the mind conſcious of its rectitude, and collected within itſelf, meets with becoming fortitude the evils it cannot avoid, and truſting to its vigour and reſources, is alike prepared for triumph or ſubmiſſion. The perils which ſurround us are unqueſtionably of a nature to excite alarm, but not to juſtify deſpondency: for who, my Lord, will have the effrontery to aſſert that our reſources are not equal to the occaſion? Who would have the baſeneſs to ſurrender the independence, the honour, and dignity of the nation to an aſſemblage of ruffians ſtained with the blood of their wretched countrymen, and who are only held together by an excitement to freſh crimes, or the dread of puniſhment for the paſt?—Is it to ſuch mercileſs beings, for you cannot call them human, that your Grace would ſacrifice the pride and

intereſts,

intereſts of Great Britain? Is it before ſuch men, my Lord, that you would wiſh to ſee the unſubdued ſpirit of your country fall proſtrate? Is it from ſuch men that you would meanly implore that peace as a favour, which they may ſoon be compelled to ſolicit from your mercy? Is it from France, diſhonoured, bankrupt, and undone;—is it from France deſolated and diſgraced by crime, where even MURDER, pauſing in blood, ſtands aghaſt at the ruin ſhe has made! that Britain on her knees is to receive as a boon what ſhe holds from Heaven as a right? Fie upon it, my Lord! hold better doctrines;—doctrines better ſuited to our virtues and our courage; and ceaſe to remind us of your origin!

Had France confined her efforts to the regeneration of herſelf, without attempting to regenerate other nations—had ſhe not employed every effort to ſubvert our Conſtitution, by preſenting to us, not for choice, but acceptance, new laws, and new modes of thinking—had ſhe never promulgated in other States the doctrines of equality in their worſt and moſt perverted ſenſe, ſhe would have found FRIENDS, not *enemies*, in Engliſhmen; but when it was diſcovered that the opinions which ſhe introduced among us for the purpoſe of corrupting and dividing us, were adopted by the diſſolute and pennyleſs, and that

these men, atrocious and despised as they were in their own country, were received, flattered and caressed by the Convention and Executive Council, all sober men became alarmed, and beheld in France an insidious and dangerous foe; every man brought home to his own breast the unpardonable horrors committed in Paris—he beheld his own family butchered in cold blood, and without provocation, ignorant of his own fate, and not assured of surviving them an instant, such were the sentiments excited by her conduct; and who, let me ask your Grace, could possibly preserve any esteem for a people so void of humanity, and whose aim was to involve us in all the infamy and all the complicated miseries with which they are afflicted and dishonoured? Who would wish to correct the errors and vices in our Constitution and Government at such a terrible expence of public and of private ruin? Who would prefer the ruthless and deplorable anarchy in which France is involved, the duration of which is likely to extend beyond the present generation, to a state of order and security? Weigh and combine all these circumstances, my Lord, well together, and you will agree with me, that our anger was not without cause, nor our alarm without foundation.

" *While we behold minorities contending not for* " *principles, but power ; and diſputing, not for* " *the Conſtitution, but for Government,*" we ſhould neither be ſurprized at the obſtinacy with which they aſſert that the French had no deſign againſt the internal peace of this country, nor the perſeverance with which they maintain the neceſſity of an immediate reform in Parliament.—The French, more modeſt, plead guilty to the charge—avow their intentions, and confident of ſucceſs, declare, " *that we are in a ſtate of inſur-* " *rection.*"—This was announced in form to the National Convention by the Preſident in November 1792 ; and that all France might partake of the triumph, the pleaſing intelligence was not only printed, and ſtuck up in every ſtreet in Paris, but tranſmitted by order of the Legiſlature, to all the Departments.

" *Les Anglais, ces fiers inſulaires, nos frères* " *ainés en liberté, vont à notre exemple renverſer* " *leur Trone, chaſſer leur Roi, et porter la liberté* " *juſqu'au fond de l'Aſie !*"——(The Engliſh— " Thoſe proud Iſlanders, our elder brothers in " liberty, are preparing to follow our example ; " to deſtroy the Throne ; baniſh their King, " and extend the bleſſings of freedom to the " extremity of Aſia.")—Such was the declaration of Monſieur Gregoire ; but the voluntary confeſſion, or rather the impudent boaſt of the criminal,

criminal, it ſeems, is not ſufficient evidence of his guilt; and the Gentlemen in Oppoſition, availing themſelves of the latitude (amounting almoſt to impunity) which our laws afford to thoſe who are *dexterous* as well as SEDITIOUS, clamour for *legal proofs*, which their aſſociates they know were careful ſhould never be recorded againſt them in a court of juſtice; while, preſuming on this deficiency of *legal proof*, they deny the fact *in toto*, and give the lie not only to the declarations of the French, but to the evidence of their own ſenſes, and, on ſome occaſions, to that of their own conduct.

It is not within the narrow limits of a letter that the queſtion of Reform can be properly diſcuſſed, nor was it in my contemplation even to touch upon a ſubject ſo delicate and important, and on which it would be preſumptuous in an individual to decide, when ſuch a variety of opinions are entertained, not only as to the neceſſity of the meaſure, but as to the probability of any practical good reſulting from it.—No ſpecific plan of Reform has yet been regularly offered to our notice, but the acknowledged fact, that, *there are ſcarce two men in the kingdom agreed as to the extent of the Reform, or as to the mode of carrying it into execution*, is a circumſtance that will ever make good men PAUSE!—It is certainly a circumſtance that commands

commands the moſt ſerious attention of all who do not aim at procuring a complete diſſolution of the Government, and to thoſe who are ſo diſpoſed; to thoſe who wiſh the Engliſh Conſtitution to be ſubverted, I would ſay—*The Throne may be deſtroyed; the Houſe of Peers abolished; and the whole ſyſtem of repreſentation undergo an entire change; the idle, the indigent, and profligate, may be qualified to vote, and even acquire the right to legiſlate for you, but will your liberties by ſuch a change be extended? Will your perſons and your property be rendered more ſecure? Or will your conditions in ſociety be improved in any one inſtance?*

The man who would anſwer without heſitation any one of theſe queſtions in the affirmative, and expect to be believed, ſhould preſent his credentials from Heaven as a Prophet, for he would not ſpeak like a Legiſlator or a Philoſopher;—ſuch a man would evidently appear to have read very little, and to have reaſoned ſtill leſs on the nature of civil Government; hiſtory and experience on ſuch a man could certainly have made no impreſſion; and in all probability it would appear on enquiry, that he had paſſed through life without any good purpoſe either to himſelf or others.—But to return; in all former conteſts, we could penetrate with eaſe through diſtant events, and look forward

forward with a degree of certainty to a given time for their termination; an iſland in Aſia or America was perhaps the boundary of our reſpective pretenſions, and that obtained or relinquiſhed, and end was put to hoſtilities; but in this direful conflict, every proſpect and every hope of peace is rudely baniſhed from the mind; and the venal and profligate BARRERE, (who received a bribe in 1790 from the very Sovereign whom he ſentenced to the ſcaffold, for the favourable report on the Royal Domains) has the audacity to declare, that "*France "will never liſten to offers of Peace until every Go-"vernmint in Europe is deſtroyed.*" I do not believe that any nation has yet ſo degraded herſelf as to have ſolicited peace; and to talk of rejecting propoſals that have not been, and are not likely to be made, partakers of the vanity which diſtinguiſhed that country under the old ſyſtem. But the folly and bombaſt of this egotiſm is loſt in the atrocity and horrible principle on which the war is avowedly to be proſecuted. It is to be a war of extermination—it is not againſt a too extenſive territory—or againſt a potent and dangerous neighbour; nor is it for the purpoſe of extending their frontier that the French wage war; neither is the war to be partial; it is not to be directed againſt thoſe States who immediately ſurround France, but againſt all Europe, againſt

all

all Mankind; it is to be UNIVERSAL, and purſued until all the exiſting Governments in Europe are ſubverted, its innumerable inhabitants ſet at variance with each other, and all ties of blood and friendſhip diſſolved between them. With ſuch principles, what honeſt man will have the effrontery to eſpouſe her cauſe? With objects ſo enormous and frightful in view, what nation would be ſo wanting to itſelf as to aſſociate with her? Can ſhe ever ſeriouſly hope for peace after ſuch a declaration? a declaration no leſs impious than abſurd, and which would merit ridicule and contempt, but for the preparations which are making to carry it into effect?

The French boaſt of having a powerful party in the Britiſh Parliament. They entertain the ſame opinion of the other States with whom they are at iſſue, and this infatuation muſt be dedeſtroyed.

Remember, my Lord, that the French having inſiſted on the univerſal ſubverſion of Monarchy, it is impoſſible to treat with them while they have ſuch an object in view. When they have recovered from their preſent delirium, when they have relinquiſhed all thoſe wild and criminal projects by which, as a meaſure of ſelf-defence, France has armed all Europe againſt her, the ſword may be ſheathed, but while nothing ſhort of our abſolute ruin will

content her, the pride of Britain will, I hope, expend in the defence of her rights and poſſeſſions, her laſt man and her laſt farthing. France has made it a queſtion, Whether we ſhall exiſt as a nation or not? She has forced us to meet her on that ground, and our honour as well as our intereſt will not allow us to abandon it.—— The very juſtice of our cauſe inſpires us with confidence, while the approved valour of our troops is an aſſurance of ſucceſs. Let our exertions be proportioned to the magnitude of the danger, and the iſſue will be glorious for our country and humanity.

UNITED AT HOME, we have nothing to fear from abroad; and this is the language which as a Peer of Parliament, as a Magiſtrate, and above all, as an ENGLISHMAN, it is your duty to hold.—This country, my Lord, has had many ſerious and ſevere trials, yet ſhe has hitherto triumphed over all difficulties. She was haraſſed for more than half a century by the impudent claims of a family which ſhe had ſent into exile for diſhonouring the Throne to which ſhe had raiſed them; and it is owing to the circumſtance of your birth, my Lord, that you do not partake of their misfortunes.

The courage of this country has frequently been called forth, and on occaſions where it was expected ſhe would have fallen in the ſtruggle,

gle, but her magnanimity equal to every emergency, enabled her to reſiſt every attack, and to riſe from under the preſſure of accumulated diſtreſs with redoubled vigour. If engaged as we have ſeen her in a civil war, and in a ſtate of hoſtility, ſecret and avowed, with nearly the whole of Europe, ſhe was enabled to reſiſt her potent and numerous foes;

If by the wiſdom of her councils, the vigour of her operations, and the gallantry of her arms, ſhe triumphed over her enemies in all quarters of the world, why ſhould ſhe deſpair with all Europe almoſt in alliance with her? With all Europe combatting by her ſide, and united to her by the common danger with which they are threatened, with every moral certainty of a ſucceſsful iſſue to the conteſt, why ſhould ſhe deſpond; why ſhould ſhe with victory in view anticipate defeat, and meanly ſolicit peace of a people who would reject the ſuit with an haughtineſs equal to the baſeneſs with which it was ſolicited?

The league formed againſt her in the American war, threatened much more ſerious miſchief to her commerce and dominion than the preſent conteſt.

India was in a manner wreſted from her ſway, ſhe was totally excluded from the Mediterranean, ſeveral of her ſugar iſlands had been

taken, and a line of coaſt (once in her poſſeſſion, and extending from the Gulph of Florida to the Bay of Fundy) was in declared rebellion, yet, notwithſtanding theſe unexampled difficulties, notwithſtanding theſe numerous loſſes, and the powerful confederacy reſolved to expel her from Aſia and America, notwithſtanding every effort to extinguiſh her influence on ſhore and her empire at ſea, her flag ſtill flies triumphant in the four quarters of the world! The Britiſh name is ſtill held in reverence; and, what ought to be as flattering to the pride as it is honourable to the character of an Engliſhman, his protection has been ſolicited, and his ſuccour is deemed a ſecurity againſt the inroads of vagabonds let looſe from all reſtraint, and armed with principles as diabolical in their nature, as they have been found miſchievous and ruinous in their application.

Theſe are facts which cannot be controverted, and to hold out a miſerable catalogue of evils as peculiar to this war, which we know to be common to all wars, and to excite ill founded alarms in the minds of your fellow citizens, is to ſide, my Lord, with malice againſt candour, and with ignorance againſt experience, it is the foul and unnatural junction of vice and virtue, which for a variety of reaſons you ſhould diſclaim

claim without hefitation, and abandon without regret.

Your rank in ſociety demands the ſacrifice, (if you ſhould unhappily deem it ſuch) and your country expects it as an atonement for the errors of an Adminiſtration, to the account of which much of that democratic ſpirit which rages at preſent may be placed.

There is nothing more ctiminal, my Lord, than to excite ill founded alarms in times of public danger; and it is to the full as idle to give implicit faith to every tale which malice or ignorance may propagate. It is the misfortune of France to be ſtill under an infatuation as fatal to her own intereſts as it is miſchievous to thoſe of other nations.—She ſtill looks forward in confidence to riot and revolt in this country *, and firmly believes that the inſtant an at-

" La Cour de Londres, qui craint la guerre ſemble l'ennemie de la paix—elle affecte un contenance qui en impoſe au peuple Anglais, mais ſi vous vous montrez rigides, ſi vous vous conſtituez l'état, et ſi le poid de votre politique écraſe tous ſes partiſans, & comprime ſes combinaiſons, le lendemain du jour où elle aura paru le plus éloignée de la paix, la plus confiante dans ſa force et la plus ſuperbe dans ſes pretenſions, elle propoſera la paix."

Report from the Committee of Public Safety at Paris to the National Convention, 27 Feb. 1794.

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tack is made from WITHOUT the Government will be aſſailed and ſubverted WITHIN. It is this vain, this deluſive idea, that ſtimulates her to menace us with an invaſion; and counting upon a general defection from one end of the kingdom to the other, it is poſſible ſhe may be ſeduced to make the attempt, and hazard a deſcent. Her ſole hope of ſucceſs is in this promiſed defection—Defection did I call it? Say rather, a mean and daſtardly renunciation of our national character; a baſe and perfidious deſertion of our country, of all that is venerable and dear in the eſtimation of mankind, and of which even France would have believed us incapable but for the pains which have been taken to miſrepreſent every action of the Britiſh Government, and to delude an intoxicated people into a belief that the Parliament and the nation are on the eve of a violent and irreparable rupture *. It is this libel on the Engliſh Empire that we

" On a tué Marat & banni Margarot dont on a confiſqué les biens—tous les tyrans en ont marqué leur joie!—Que Margarot revienne de Botani Bay! qu'il ne periſſe point! et que ſa deſtinée ſoit plus forte que le Gouvernement qui l'opprime!

" Les Révolutions commencent toujours par d'ILLUSTRES MALHEUREUX.—Que la Providence accompagne Margerot à Botani-Bay! QU'UN DECRET AU PEUPLE AFFRANCHI

we are called upon to refute and puniſh. It is this audacious, this ill-founded calumny againſt the Britiſh nation, that ſhould animate us to give the lie at once to the aſſertions and hopes of our enemies. We owe it to ourſelves to convince them, that however we may cavil at home, we will ever be united and faithful to each other againſt all attempts to divide us from abroad; and that more inſulted by the ſuſpicions entertained of our loyalty, than alarmed at the danger with which we are threatened, we are reſolved to proſecute the war to a juſt and honourable concluſion. Such, my Lord, is the language we ſhould hold—ſuch the conduct it is incumbent on us to purſue; and whatever

FRANCHI, LE RAPPELLE DU FOND DES DESERTS OU VENGE SA MEMOIRE." *Ibid.*

Theſe are not the looſe, unconnected ſentiments of private individuals, my Lord, of no authority in France, but the declaration of the men entruſted with the whole Government of the country, and who addreſs this language in their official and miniſterial capacities to the French Legiſlature and to the World.—Is it to thoſe that your Grace would propoſe peace? Is it from thoſe you could hope to receive it? and do you believe that they would grant it, unleſs one of his Majeſty's ſhips was firſt diſpatched to Botany Bay to bring back the "ILLUSTRIOUS EXILE," (as they call him) from the deſarts of New Holland?

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may be the event of the ſtruggle, whether it ſhould be proſperous, as we are authorized to expect, or whether it ſhould, contrary to reaſon, juſtice, and appearances, prove unfortunate, we ſhall have the ſatisfaction to reflect, either in victory or in defeat, that we have acquitted ourſelves like BRITONS!

AN

AN

Exculpation of M. de la Fayette

FROM

The Charges unjuſtly advanced, and indecently urged againſt him by

MR. BURKE,

In the Houſe of Commons, on the 17th March, 1794.

IT is not very decent, and certainly not very conſiſtent in Mr. Burke who has oppoſed almoſt every meaſure of the Crown through life with an aſperity peculiar to himſelf, to come forward and pretend to more loyalty than the reſt of his Majeſty's ſubjects.—We ſhould however pardon the vanity of this ſingular pretenſions in a man anxious to atone perhaps for the acrimony with which he treated his Sovereign in his illneſs, if our anger was not provoked by the arrogance with which it is accompanied, of dictating to us in matters merely ſpeculative, and laying down rules for our allegiance and

 ſubmiſſion,

ſubmiſſion, with a bull of excommunication againſt thoſe who differ in opinion with this "*Sir* "*Oracle*" of modern times.—Mr. Burke, not ſatisfied with pretending to be more dutiful to the King, and more affectionate to his perſon, would aſſume the right to regulate our faith and ſquare our obedience by a meaſurement of his own fabrication, founded on the principles and exploded maxims of Archbiſhop Laud, Sir Robert Filmer, and other gentlemen of that deſcription, who having vegetated without reſpect, periſhed unlamented in the laſt century.

It has been deemed a ſymptom of diſaffection to his Majeſty and to his Government, to diſſent from Mr. Burke in what he advances relative to the revolution that happened in this country in 1688, as well as to what concerns the leſs fortunate, but not leſs merited one which took place in France in 1789.—The principles on which the former was accompliſhed have been wifully miſrepreſented, for I will not pay ſo ill a compliment to the talents and reading of Mr. Burke, as to attribute the novel doctrines he has lain down, reſpecting the former, to ignorance or incapacity;—and I feel it a grievance as well as an inſult, that the loyalty of Gentlemen in this country ſhould be arraigned, for maintaining that a revolution in France had become a neceſſary and laudable meaſure.

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The emancipation of an entire people from the arbitrary dominion of an individual, and the vexatious oppreſſions which they endured from the pride, avarice, and deſpotiſm of a few, will ever afford matter of rational triumph to thoſe whoſe minds are not debaſed by tyranny or deformed by prejudice; and on this ground it was that I rejoiced, in common with millions, when the Baſtile fell. That the French have miſtaken their road, and that they have fallen under an oppreſſion infinitely more extenſive, and more horrible than the one which good men, in all parts of the world, univerſally reprobated, proves indeed the extreme depravity and general profligacy of the country, but is ſurely no argument againſt the propriety or neceſſity of the revolution in itſelf, any more than that the ſcandalous and licentious manners of half the Biſhops in France ſhould invalidate the truth of the Chriſtian religion.—I have no doubt that when Luther attempted to purge the church of its filth and iniquities; when he expoſed the guilt and effrontery of degrading the Divinity into a Pedlar, and giving him a ſtall in every chapel and convent in Chriſtendom to ſell pardons for paſt and future crimes, but that a pampered and diſſolute prieſthood in thoſe days found proſtitute ſcribblers to juſtify the abuſes he condemned, and to write againſt the

reformation which he urged, and which was certainly not the leſs neceſſary for having been propoſed by a man whoſe morals were perhaps to the full as corrupt as thoſe whom he condemned.

As Mr. Burke has endeavoured to throw an odium on thoſe who rejoice in the ſubverſion of the ancient Government in France, and to draw inferences from thence of diſaffection to the Conſtitution, it is not extraordinary that he ſhould alſo conſider it as criminal to expreſs any eſteem for thoſe who were inſtrumental in effecting a revolution which was meant to root out long eſtabliſhed evils, and ſubſtitute in their place wholeſome, provident laws, which binding alike upon all, ſhould give protection and ſupport to all.

Mr. Burke ſeems diſpoſed to carry this prejudice, to ſay nothing worſe of it, ſtill farther.—It is not only an argument, in his opinion, of diſaffection to the Engliſh Government to approve of the French revolution, and of the motives of thoſe who effected it, but even to expreſs ſentiments of compaſſion for ſuch as have fallen victims to an intemperate zeal, or to a want of foreſight.

Among the proſcribed we find the name of a man, who is not only accuſed of being acceſſary to the aſſaſſination of private individuals,

but of having connived at the departure of the Royal Family, for the execrable purpoſe of obtaining popularity with the rabble, by bringing them back priſoners to Paris. It is almoſt fair to ſuppoſe that thoſe who can attribute ſuch foul and atrocious intentions to another, without proofs or probability, are capable of executing them. The beſt anſwer that can be given to the aſſertions of Mr. Burke in the Houſe of Commons on the 17th inſt. is to publiſh the ſpeech of M. de la Fayette at the moment that Foulon was maſſacred: It is recorded in a journal called L'Ami du Roi, par Monſ. Montjoye; the author of which will certainly not be ſuſpected of having any predilection either for the Revolution or for thoſe who were concerned in it.

If M. de la Fayette could poſſibly have ſaved the lives of Foulon * and Berthier, the author of

* This man fell a victim to his bad character—to that general prejudice which is adopted very often without cauſe, and as often continued from the indolence of thoſe who imbibe it, not permitting them to enquire into the truth or falſehood of the reports and opinions they hear. This unfortunate man was the moſt abhorred of any in France, and in ſuch deteſtation was his very name held, that two of his nephews againſt whom there was no reproach, were refuſed admiſſion into a club in Paris in the year 1787, by having eighty

of this Journal, devoted to the Court and the Ariſtocratic party in France, would certainly have reproached, with his accuſtomed ſeverity, the criminal negligence of M. de la Fayette, againſt whom he was always ready to publiſh whatever was likely to injure his character and diſcredit him with the people. When a man ſo decidedly againſt him is perfectly ſilent on a ſubject, which could not have eſcaped his knowledge (for he was on the ſpot) I do not think that the ſlander of Mr. Burke can be more effectually refuted than by the publication of the harangue recorded (by this friend of the King) without comment or contradiction, nor can Mr. Burke with any decency queſtion the veracity of one of his own witneſſes.—As I have this va-

eighty black balls in an hundred againſt them, from the circumſtance of their being called Foulon.

Incenſed at the brutal violence of the mob whom he could not reſtrain, and incenſed at a murder which reflected diſgrace on his country, M. de la Fayette reſigned his command, and it was with difficulty that he was prevailed upon to reſume it. This circumſtance alone proves that he was ſenſibly affected by the maſſacre of this unfortunate victim, while his conduct previous to the melancholy event proves that he not only condemned the violence, but exerted every effort in his power to prevent it.—His having been acceſſary therefore to the murder, or having had it in his power to prevent it, are aſſertions which Mr. Burke upon reflection muſt certainly bluſh to have advanced.

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luable collection in my poſſeſſion, I ſhall publiſh the diſcourſe in the language in which it was delivered, that thoſe who may have been equally fortunate in preſerving the productions of the ſame author from the general wreck, may compare them, and bear evidence to the fidelity of my quotation.—The World I truſt will acknowledge the juſtice of my concluſions.

THE ADDRESS OF

M. DE LA FAYETTE *to the* PEOPLE,

On the 22d July, 1789.

Extrait du Journal du l'Ami du Roi du Mois de Juillet, 1789.

" JE ſuis connu de vous tous, vous m'avez nommé votre General, et ce choix qui m'honore, m'impoſe le devoir de vous parler avec la liberté et la franchiſe qui font la baſe de mon caractère.—Vous voulez faire perir ſans jugement cet homme qui eſt devant vous, c'eſt une injuſtice qui vous deſhonore qui me fletriroit moi-même, qui fletriroit tous les efforts que j'ai fait en faveur de la liberté—ſi j'étois aſſez foible

foible pour la permettre : je ne la permettrai pas cette injuſtice, mais je ſuis bien loin de pretendre le ſauver s'il eſt coupable, je veux ſeulement que cet homme ſoit conduit en priſon pour être jugé par le tribunal que la nation indiquera. —Je veux que la loi ſoit reſpectée, la loi ſans laquelle il n'eſt point de liberté, la loi ſans le ſecours de laquelle je n'aurois point contribué à la revolution du Nouveau Monde, et ſans laquelle je ne contribuerai pas à la revolution qui ſe prepare ; ce que je dis en faveur des formes et de loi, ne doit pas être interpreté en faveur de Monſ. Foulon, je ne ſuis pas ſuſpect à ſon egard, et peut-être même la manière dont je me ſuis exprimé ſur ſon compte dans pluſieurs occaſions ſuffiroit ſeule pour m'interdire le droit de le juger, mais plus il eſt preſumé coupable plus il eſt important que les formes s'obſervent à ſon égard, ſoit pour rendre ſa punition plus eclatante, ſoit pour l'interroger legalement et avoir de ſa bouche la revelation de ſes complices, ainſi je vais donner ordre qu'il ſoit conduit à l'Abbaye."

TRANSLATION OF THE PRECEDING LETTER.

" I am known to you all—You have nominated me to be your General; but the choice which you have made, and which confers on me the higheſt honour, alſo impoſes on me as a duty the neceſſity of ſpeaking to you with that ſincerity and frankneſs which conſtitute my character.—You ſeem reſolved to deſtroy the man without trial who is proſtrate before you and at your mercy;—but ſuch violence would be as diſhonourable to yourſelves, as to the cauſe of liberty in which we are embarked; and tho' I cannot ſuffer ſo flagrant an act of injuſtice to be committed, I am very far from wiſhing to preſerve guilt from puniſhment.—I only requeſt that you will permit this man to be conducted to priſon, that he may be tried agreeable to the laws, and by ſuch a tribunal as the nation may appoint.—All I deſire is that the law may be reſpected, without which it is impoſſible that LIBERTY can exiſt, or that I can contribute to the revolution which is preparing in this country, as I did to that which has been accompliſhed in America.—What I have advanced in favour of the laws, and of the forms of juſtice, will not, I truſt, be interpreted as argu-

ments in favour of M. Foulon.—I certainly ſhall not be ſuſpected of any partiality towards him; and the very manner in which I have, on a variety of occaſions, delivered my opinion of him, deprives me of the right of judging him. But the more culpable he appears to be, remember the more incumbent it is on you to reſpect the laws by which alone he can be condemned. —Whether it is your wiſh that his puniſhment ſhould be exemplary, or whether it is merely your intention to interrogate him, for the purpoſe of diſcovering his accomplices, it is neceſſary that he ſhould be preſerved from outrage; I ſhall therefore give directions that he is conducted to the Abbey *."

* The judicious reader will eaſily conceive the extreme difficulty of even obtaining an hearing from an immenſe mob under the influence of rage, and that the only poſſible chance of reſcuing an individual from the fury of their reſentment was by the expedient of conducting him to priſon.

The ſecond charge which has been urged againſt M. de la Fayette, not in the full and direct manner in which he was accuſed as an accomplice in the murder of Foulon, but by whiſpers

whiſpers as induſtriouſly circulated as they were maliciouſly deſigned, can be refuted more poſitively, and perhaps more ſatisfactorily than the firſt, by an appeal to facts and to authentic documents. The improbability of the ſtory is in itſelf a proof of its falſehood; nor can it be credited, that if M. de la Fayette had been privy to the departure of the King for the purpoſes ſo inhumanely attributed to him, that he would have allowed his Majeſty to have travelled within 15 miles of the frontier before he had him ſtopped, and eſpecially as Varennes was the laſt town through which the hapleſs Monarch had to paſs in which he had any danger to apprehend.

If La Fayette had played ſo foul, ſo infamous a part, one of his aid du camps, and not the poſt-maſter Drouet,* who alone derived eclat from the arreſt, would have ſtopped the Royal Travellers. But without entering into all the detail of argument and variety of reaſons that may be urged in favour of M. de la Fayette, his claims to innocence will be eſtabliſhed on the declaration of the Queen alone, whoſe evidence, under the diſtreſſing, the awful circum-

* This man, on his examination before the National Aſſembly, never mentioned the name of M. de la Fayette, but gave as a reaſon for having the carriage ſtopped, that "*he thought he diſcovered the King in it.*"

ſtances

ſtances in which ſhe found herſelf, commands reſpect and confidence.

She declared that "*Monſieur de la Fayette was* "*ignorant of her departure.*" Her account of the manner in which ſhe left Paris corroborates her aſſertion; and if the arreſt of the King ſhould be advanced as preſumptive evidence that La Fayette was in the ſecret, the declaration attributed to the Marquis de Bouillé explains what was in the firſt moment conſidered as evidence of La Fayette's guilt.——M. de Bouillé declared, firſt, "*That the King left* "*Paris* TWENTY-FOUR *hours later than the time agreed upon*; and that the detachments aſſembled for the purpoſe of eſcorting his Majeſty, excited ſuſpicions round the country.

2d. One of theſe detachments, compoſed of 50 huſſars, and commanded by a ſon of the Marquis de Bouillé, was twenty-four hours without any kind of refreſhment either for the men or their horſes; and their having retreated to procure themſelves refreſhments, they could not get back in time to prevent the tumults and diſorders of the people, aſſembled at firſt from motives of ſimple curioſity.

3d. It has alſo appeared I believe from the teſtimony of Count de Damas, that the garde de corps who preceded the carriage was three quarters of an hour in the ſtreets of Varennes ſeeking for

horſes

horſes, being uninformed that the relay was to wait, and to be without the gates.

4. It is alſo well known, and from the ſame authority, that the King was ſtopped by one man only, and that he prevented the three gardes du corps, who were on the coach box, to extricate him from the danger, by diſpatching this man.

5. The ſon of the Marquis de Bouillé, by much too young for an enterprize of ſuch importance, would not venture to attack ſome unarmed men, who were collected together, and who, at the expiration of at leaſt three hours, brought two pieces of cannon, which by the bye were not charged——It is alſo worthy of remark, that M. de Bouillé had in the neighbourhood of Varennes an army of at leaſt 50,000 men, and that, notwithſtanding this force, he ſuffered the King to be ſeized and carried off.

Every well-informed mind knows that there is not more than 15 Engliſh miles from Varennes to the frontiers of France, and that in two hours his Majeſty might have paſſed the French territory. Is it then probable, that if M. de la Fayette had been in the ſecret, that he would have deferred the ſeizure of his Majeſty's perſon until he arrived on the ſpot, where it was a thouſand to one that he could not have been ſtopped,

and

and where if he had not delayed his departure ſo long from the metropolis, there would have been a force ſufficient to have protected him?—If there is any blame on this unfortunate occaſion, it is not on M. de la Fayette, but on M. de Bouillé, that it ought to fall, who however may not deſerve perhaps any other cenſure for the failure of the enterprize than what is due to imprudence and incapacity.

All that was done in conſequence of this melancholy event was for the ſecurity of thoſe who had any property in Paris, and whoever denies theſe well-known facts, and pronounces M. de la Fayette guilty, muſt either have a very bad memory, or be extremely deficient in candour and ſincerity.—Surely the evidence of people on the ſpot is much more to be depended upon than that of the emigrants at Coblentz; and what ought to have a very conſiderable weight in the opinion of every impartial perſon is, that if M. de la Fayette had been in the ſecret, his numerous enemies in Paris, and particularly thoſe who were endeavouring to wreſt from him the command of the national guards, would not have omitted ſo favourable an opportunity to ſacrifice the object of their hatred and their envy to the fury of an ungovernable mob.

So far from its being credited even by thoſe the moſt adverſe to M. de la Fayette, and ſo convinced

convinced were they of his innocence, that when the matter was diſcuſſed in the National Aſſembly, and his life depended on the iſſue of the queſtion, they had the magnanimity to relinquiſh their perſonal intereſts, to renounce all perſonal reſentments, and decide like honeſt men, in favour of juſtice.

FINIS.